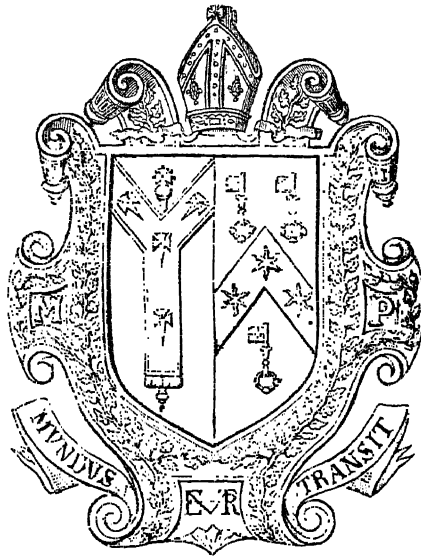


THE WORKS
OF
ROGER HUTCHINSON.

The Parker Society.

Instituted A.D. M.DCCC.XI.



**For the Publication of the Works of the Fathers
and Early Writers of the Reformed
English Church.**

THE
WORKS
OF
ROGER HUTCHINSON,

FELLOW OF ST JOHN'S COLLEGE, CAMBRIDGE,
AND AFTERWARDS OF ETON COLLEGE, A.D. 1550.

EDITED FOR
The Parker Society,

BY
JOHN BRUCE, Esq. F.S.A.



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* Now first published.

BIOGRAPHICAL NOTICE

OF

ROGER HUTCHINSON.

Few incidents in the life of the author of the following pages have been recorded. Some peculiar words which occur in his works¹ would have led to the inference that he was one of the many champions for religious truth which, at the period of the Reformation, were sent forth by the northern counties of England; and that inference would have been a little strengthened by the circumstance that one of the witnesses to his will is, "John Hutchenson at Roklyf:" but Bale has stated², that he was a native of Hertfordshire. Bale however gives no authority, and as our author was connected with Rickmansworth in that county at one period of his life, that circumstance may have led to Bale's statement. He himself has told us, that his father's name was William Hutchinson³; but where he resided, or when, or where, our author was born, does not appear.

He was educated at St John's College, Cambridge, "the chief nursery in those times of the favourers of true religion and solid learning⁴;" and was contemporary there with Cheke, Ascham, Cecill, Lever, Grindal, Sandys, Pilkington, and other eminent men. He was admitted a fellow of St John's on the 14th of March, 1543⁵, and a senior on the 28th of March, 1547⁶; and in October of the latter year was associated with his "well-beloved friend Thomas Lever⁷"

¹ These and other peculiar and obsolete words are noticed in the glossary which is printed with the Index. ² *Illust. Script. ix. cent. lxxxv.*

³ *Post*, p. 128.

⁴ *Strype's Parker*, i. 421.

⁵ *Addl. MS. Brit. Mus. 5850, fol. 335.* ⁶ *Addl. MS. 5850, fol. 337.*

⁷ *Post*, p. 146. It is observable that the words "I and my well-beloved friend Thomas Lever and others," from which I here quote, were altered in the second edition of *The Image* to "I, Master Whythead, Thomas Lever, and others." Lever and Whitehead were men of equal celebrity and very similar lives. Both were warm supporters of the Reformation, both preachers of great eminence, both exiles

in a disputation held in the college chapel upon the question then uppermost in every man's mind, "Whether the mass was the same thing as the Lord's supper, or not?" Roger Ascham, who was present at the disputation, mentions it in a letter to Cecill, then Master of Requests to the Protector Somerset, in terms which are highly creditable to those engaged in it. "The question was handled," he says, "with great erudition by Thomas Lever and Roger Hutchinson, whom I suppose you knew. They are both learned men¹;" or, as he expresses it in another letter, written by him for the college upon the same subject, "men learned, grave, and pious²." Hutchinson's conjunction with a man so distinguished as Lever to maintain a disputation upon a point so momentous, indicates the consideration in which he was held by his college; and such was the attention attracted by their arguments, that it was proposed to have the question debated more openly in the public schools: but some persons less zealous than the men with whom this movement originated, took alarm at the proposal, and procured it to be stopped by authority³.

Hutchinson may next be traced in connexion with a subject which engaged the attention, and has in some degree sullied the reputation, of the leaders of the Reformation in the reign of Edward VI.—the heresy and punishment of Joan Bocher, otherwise named Joan of Kent. It was the opinion of this unfortunate woman, that our blessed Saviour did not take his body from the Virgin Mary, but passed through her as light through glass. For holding that opinion she was summoned before the primate and certain other commissioners appointed to inquire concerning heresies⁴, and by them was committed to prison, where she was

under Mary, and, under Elizabeth, both were ultimately deprived for non-conformity. Whitehead, who was a little the senior, died in 1571, Lever in 1577.

¹ Strype's *Cranmer*, App. xxxvii. Ascham's *Epist.* p. 237. Edit. Oxon. 1703.

² Ascham's *Epist.* p. 335.

³ Strype's *Cranmer*, Lib. ii. c. vi. App. xxxvii. ⁴ Rymer's *Fœd.* xv. 181.

kept more than twelve months, "in hope of conversion". To that end she was also visited at various times by Cranmer, Ridley, Goodrich, bishop of Ely, Latimer, and, as it now appears in the following pages⁶, by Lever, Whitehead, and Hutchinson; and all these eminent men made strenuous but ineffectual endeavours to bring her to a more accurate belief. Hutchinson states an argument which he heard Lever adduce to her, and her acute reply to it. It appears from the accounts of Latimer⁷ and Hutchinson, and from the entry in the Archbishop's Register⁸, that she professed a belief in Christ's humanity, asserting only that he did not take it from the virgin, but received it in some manner "unknown and undefined in the scriptures:" and for that opinion, maintained with subtle reasonings, and occasionally with sharp and bitter words, she was led to the stake in Smithfield, and in accordance with the barbarous practice of several centuries, was consigned to the flames on the 2nd of May, 1550. Hutchinson's Image of God was first published in the same year, and his prefatory epistle is dated on the 26th of June; but the passages which relate to this unhappy woman were evidently written before her execution. However miserable her fate, and pitiable and humiliating the consideration that the eyes of such men as Cranmer, Ridley, Latimer, Lever and Hutchinson, were not sufficiently opened to perceive the antichristian character of the proceedings against her, it should be remarked that the new circumstance in the narrative of her treatment, which is here brought to light, affords an additional proof of the earnestness with which the Reformers endeavoured to bring her to a better mind.

And here, although but indirectly connected with our present author, it may be allowable to remark, how much undeserved odium has been thrown upon Archbishop Cranmer

⁶ Edw. VI. Journal, May 2, 1550. Burnet's Reform. ii. Pt. ii.

⁷ See p. 145. ⁸ Sermon on St John the evangelist's day.

⁸ Burnet, Vol. ii. Pt. ii. No. xxxv.

in connexion with this case of Joan Bocher, in consequence of an erroneous statement of Foxe the martyrologist, respecting the importunity with which he urged, if not forced, the young king into the signature of the death-warrant upon which she suffered. All classes of objectors to the Reformation have availed themselves of this presumed fact, to magnify the clemency of the king by way of contrast to the primate's "importunity for blood¹." Cranmer's advocates have apparently felt this passage in his life to be one extremely difficult, if not incapable, of defence. They have mostly contented themselves with alleging that it was contrary to the general tenour of his life, and with bringing forward the entry in the privy-council book to prove that he was not present when her fate was finally determined, and may therefore be presumed to have exhibited but little of the eager spirit of a persecutor. The last writer of the history of the Reformation² has gone a little farther, and has ventured to impugn the authority of this particular passage in Foxe, on the ground of the silence not merely of the king's journal, but also of the Romanist libellers of the primate, respecting the alleged interview. Nothing is more likely than that if the king's feeling had been such as Foxe represents, the entry in his journal would have been different from the one we find there³; whilst, if such an interview had really taken place, Sanders, and other writers of that class, would have been delighted to avail themselves of it against Cranmer; but it is unfortunate that Cranmer's defenders have not produced the whole entry in the privy-council book, instead of merely referring to it, in proof of the single fact of Cranmer's absence. Had that been done, it would long ago have occurred to some one, that it con-

¹ Hayward's Ed. VI. p. 16. Ed. 1636.

² Soames, III. 544.

³ "Joan Bocher, otherways called Joan of Kent, was burnt for holding: That Christ was not incarnate of the virgin Mary: being condemned the year before, but kept in hope of conversion; and the 30th of April the bishop of London, and the bishop of Ely were to perswade her, but she withstood them, and reviled the preacher that preached at her death."

tains evidence that Foxe's story, for which he does not assign any authority, could not be true. Amongst the minutes of the business transacted by the council (who, be it remembered, under the will of Henry VIII. were the actual governors of the kingdom during the minority of Edward VI.) on the 27th April 1550, is the following entry:—

“A warrant to the L. Chaunceller to make out a writt to the Shireff of London for the execucon of Johan of Kent, condemned to be burned for certain detestable opinions of heresie.”

It appears from these words, that, in conformity with the ordinary legal practice of the period, Joan Bocher was executed upon a writ *de hæretico comburendo*, addressed to the Sheriff of London, and issued out of Chancery, upon the authority of a warrant signed, not by the king, but by the council. It would have been contrary to constitutional custom for the king to have signed any such document; it is quite clear, from the entry quoted, that, in point of fact, he did not sign it; and the narrative which the worthy martyrologist was misled into inserting, and Cranmer's difficulty to cause the king to “put to his hand,” and the tears by which subsequent writers have declared that his submission to the stern pleading of his spiritual father were accompanied, all vanish.

But to return to our author. “The Image of God”

* That no doubt may remain upon the subject I will add, i. That it was not customary for the king to attend the meetings of the council. ii. That whenever the council desired that the king should be consulted, or communicated with, an entry was made upon the council book similar to the following which occurs on the same day as the preceding: “It was agreed by the whole counsaill, that the king's majestie should be moved for the restitution of the duke of Somersett unto all his goods, his debtes, and his leases yet ungiven.” iii. That the persons present on the day referred to were: “The Lorde Chaunceller, The L. High Treasurer, The L. P. Seale, The L. Great Chamberlaine, The L. Chamberlaine, The L. Pagett, The Busshopp of Ely, Mr Treasurer, Mr Comptroller, Mr of the Horse, Mr Vicechamberlaine, Sir Rauf Sadler, Sir Edward Northe.”

was first published in 1550, with a title of which a fac-simile is presented in this edition, and with the following colophon: "Imprinted at London by Jhon Daie, dwelling ouer Aldersgate and Wylliam Seres dwelling in Peter Colledge. The yere of our Lorde God MDL. the twenty and eight day of June. Cum privilegio ad imprimendum solum." Although described on the title page as of Cambridge, it would seem that Hutchinson had left the University before the publication, as he dated his prefatory epistle from London. His object in his work was not merely to explain the doctrine of the ever-blessed Trinity, but to do it in such a manner as to refute the more glaring errors of the church of Rome; to direct attention to some extraordinary assertions of Albertus Pighius, a great champion of that church; to controvert the errors of the Arians, Anabaptists, and other sectaries, by whom the morning of the Reformation was clouded; and to press home upon all classes of the people the necessity for a personal as well as an ecclesiastical reformation. His book was indeed designed to be, as the second title expresses, a "Layman's Book," a manual of religious instruction for the laity, based upon that which he contended for as "the only touchstone to examine and try all doctrine," the holy scripture.

"The Image of God" was reprinted in 1560, after the author's death, with occasional variations from the previous edition, some of which were derived from a corrected copy given by the author to Day the printer. By the favour of St John's College, Cambridge, the present editor has been permitted to use a copy of the first edition, which is in the library of that college,—the only copy we know of—and has thus been enabled to exhibit in foot-notes the most material variations between the two editions.

In the year of the first publication of "The Image" Hutchinson was appointed a fellow of Eton College¹, and there the five sermons which form the remaining contents of

¹ Addl. MS. Brit. Mus. 4843. fo. 194.

this volume were preached. The author gave a copy of the first three to Day the printer, before the decease of Edward VI., but that event silenced Day's press, and delayed their publication until 1560, when they were appended, with a distinct title page, to the second edition of "The Image." These sermons are here reprinted from the edition of 1560.

The other two sermons are now published for the first time from a MS. preserved in the collection of MSS. which formerly belonged to the Royal Library in St James's Palace, and is now in the British Museum. This MS. is contemporary with the author: it contains corrections perhaps made by himself, and was not improbably presented to the Royal Library by Sir Henry Sidney, a personal friend of Edward VI., to whom the sermons are dedicated. Many passages of these sermons are founded upon writings of Chrysostom besides those directly quoted; and, in following that eloquent father, our author has been led into one or two statements respecting the atoning efficacy of affliction, which, had he seen them in print, he probably would have a little modified. These statements should be taken in connection with our author's opinions upon the same subject expressed in chapter xi. of "The Image," and certainly should not be understood as if meant by him to interfere with the one great atonement, which he so often and so clearly upholds.

In other passages of these sermons it seems, as if the vices of the times and the ill-health of the king, forewarned the writer to anticipate the darkness which was about to overshadow the land. When that time of affliction arrived, and some, as he says had before been the case, "were thrown into the Fleet, some into the Marshalsea, some were inclosed up into the Tower, some were racked, some scourged, other some burned, other some were defaced, slandered, and persecuted with venomous and lying tongues," he was probably deprived², as a married priest, of his fellowship at

² Addl. MS. Brit. Mus. 4843. fo. 194.

Eton, and, if he had lived, would have been called upon to take a further share in the sorrows of that melancholy period. The last glimpse we catch of him is pleasing and characteristic. After the persecution had begun, in his last illness, when confined to his bed, he contrived to convey to Day the printer, then a fellow-prisoner in Newgate with the Marian proto-martyr Rogers¹, a message full of hopeful anticipation for the future. "Lying on his death-bed," says Day, "he sent to me in my trouble, desiring me that whensoever Almighty God of his own mere mercy and goodness would look no more upon our wretchedness, but wipe away our sinnes, and hide them in the precious wounds of his Son Jesus Christ, and turn once again his merciful countenance towards us, and lighten our hearts with the bright beams of his most glorious gospel, that I would not only put these sermons of his in print, but also his other book, called *The Image of God*, the which he himself had newly corrected²."

He did not live to behold the realization of his anticipations, nor, indeed, to witness the worst troubles of the Reformers, being released from the miseries of that dreadful time, between the 23rd May, 1555, which is the date of his will, and the succeeding 15th June, when it was proved. From that document we learn that he was married, and had three children; and besides his wife Agnes, and his children, Thomas, Anne, and Elizabeth, he makes mention of his uncle Serle, and his cousin William Box the younger; to the last of whom he bequeathed his copy of *Xenophon in Greek*, in small volumes; probably the edition published at Halle in 1540, in 3 vols. 8vo.

The "leases of Saynt Elleyns, and his advowson of Rickmansworth," which he leaves with his other property to his wife, seem to connect him with Bishop Ridley; for the priory of St Helen's, Bishopgate, and the advowson of Rickmansworth, were given to that prelate in right of his see

¹ Foxe ii. 1356.

² See p. 213.

by separate grants from Edward VI., dated on the 1st and 22nd April, 1550¹. Hutchinson's leases were, no doubt, granted to him by Ridley, and were two of those which formed the subject of the martyr's last earthly thoughts and petitions. Upon Bonner's restoration Ridley's leases were called in question, and many poor persons who had paid fines for renewals were threatened to be turned out of possession. This harsh proceeding was a source of great affliction to Ridley: his last letter was addressed to the queen in their behalf, and his last words before the fire was kindled were these, addressed to Lord Williams: "There is nothing in all the world that troubleth my conscience, I praise God, this only excepted. Whilst I was in the see of London, divers poor men took leases of me, and agreed with me for the same. Now I hear say, the bishop that now occupieth the same room will not allow my grants unto them made, but, contrary unto all law and conscience, hath taken from them their livings, and will not suffer them to enjoy the same. I beseech you, my lord, be a mean for them: you shall do a good deed, and God will reward you⁴." What became of the leases to Hutchinson, has not been discovered; but considerable litigation ensued in respect of some which stood upon a similar footing, and those tenants who held out appear finally to have prevailed⁵.

Of Hutchinson's personal character we know little. The only evidence respecting it is found in a letter of Roger Ascham's, which contains some passages relating to a dispute at St John's, in which Hutchinson was involved, but upon the merits of which it is difficult to form a judgment. He represents him as of a hasty temper, but asks, "what wise man would not readily overlook such a fault when it is compensated by so many virtues?"—and draws a character of him which may suitably close this brief notice: "If I am at all able to judge, he is a man of profound under-

² Clutterbuck's Hertf. i. 186. Newcourt's Repert. i. 364.

⁴ Ridley's Works, i. 297, 427. ⁵ Strype's Mem. iv. 91.

standing, of singular learning, and yields scarcely to any one in strictness of life, and clear judgment in religion: he is true-hearted, and is most strenuously averse from popery¹."

The following is a copy of his will:

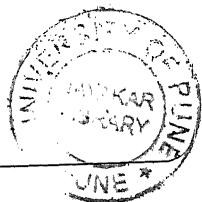
Will of Roger Hutchinson.

In the name of God, Amen. The 23rd day of May, in the year of our Lord a thousand five hundredth fifty and five. I, Roger Hutchinson, being of perfect mind and sick in body, make my last will in form and manner following. First, commending my soul into the hands of Almighty God, through the merits of Jesus Christ, and my body to be buried at my friends' discretion: I bequeath Thomas Hutchenson, my son, twenty pounds: and unto my daughter Anne, and to my daughter Elizabeth, to each of them ten pounds, to be paid out of my goods. The xxli. to be paid unto my son Thomas when he cometh to twenty years of age; and my daughters to receive their portions at the day of their marriage; and if it fortune any of them to die before they receive their parts, then such money as is due unto him or them that die to be parted equally among my children that remain and live. Item, I bequeath to my cousin William Box the golden, my Zenophon's works in Greek, in small volumes. All the rest of my goods, with my leases of Seynt Ellyns and my advowson of Rickmansworth, my debts paid and my legacies performed, I bequeath unto Agnes my wife, whom I make my sole executrix, and also I make mine uncle Serle the overseer of my will, and bequeath unto him for his pains 6s. 8d. Witnesses of this my will, Thomas Fawden; Masteres Anne Phillip; Avys More; Roger Laker: By me, John Hutchenson at Roklyf.

Proved before the Dean and Chapter of Chichester, sede vacante, 15th June, 1555, by the oath of Thomas Willett, proctor of Agnes, the relict and executrix.

¹ Ascham's Epist. 116. Edit. Oxon. 1707.

THE
IMAGE OF GOD,
OR
LAYMAN'S BOOK.



**The Image
of God, or laic mas**

**booke, in whych the
ryght knowledge of
God is disclosed, and
diuerse doubtēs besydes
the principal mat=
ter. Newly made**

**out of holi writ
by Roger Nut
chynson**

of Cambrpdge.

Anno do. M.

CCCCC.L.

(.·.)

**Cum priuilegio ad impri=
mendū solum.**

THE

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THE EPISTLE.

TO THE MOST REVE-
REND FATHER, LORD THOMAS CRANMER,
ARCHBISHOP OF CANTERBURY,
Primate of all England, and
Metropolitan, his most
humble ROGER HUT-
CHINSON wisheth
peace, welfare,
and eternal
felicity.

PUBLIUS SCIPIO, he that was first surnamed African, [Cicero de Officiis, lib. iii. c. 1.] right honourable father, was wont to say, that he was never less idle than when he was idle; meaning thereby, forsomuch as he was a magistrate, that he most earnestly thought and mused of commonwealth matters, when he seemed to others least occupied. A worthy saying for so noble a man, and to be embraced of all rulers, namely in these troublous days, in which so many things be disordered and need reformation. So, albeit I am no magistrate, as noble Scipio was, but a private person, yet I have thought it my bounden duty to see such hours in which I might have been unoccupied (which some spend in banquetting, rioting, and gaming) bestowed neither unthriftilly ne idly. but to the profit of the commonwealth; to teach the lay people understanding and science to the utmost¹ extent of my small power.

Understanding is a seed that God soweth in man's soul, and among all his gifts knowledge is the chiefest. It

[¹ Utmost, 1550; uttermost, 1560.]

ordereth the mind, governeth the body, directeth all our works and affairs, teaching us what ought to be done, and what is to be left undone ; without which neither a king can rule his subjects, nor the captain guide his army, nor a bishop instruct his flock, ne any man of science, or craftsman, shew forth and practise his art or occupation. Now, if we recount other things to be of great price and value, your wisdom knoweth, that the knowledge of God surmounteth so far all other sciences as God himself excelleth all other creatures. And the same, without denay, is most profitable and necessary both unto kings, dukes, earls, and lords, as appeareth Psalm ii., Deute. xvii., Esay xlix. where they be named "the nurses of religion ;" and also unto gentlemen, merchantmen, yeomen, husbandmen ; to all degrees spiritual and temporal. "Vain are all men which have not the knowledge of God," saith the wise man : and Paul testifieth, that, "because it seemed to them not good to have the knowledge of God, God gave them up into a lewd mind, to their own hearts' lust, and to all uncleanness." For, if he be light, such as know not him do stumble in darkness : if he be the way, they that be ignorant have lost their way : if he be the truth, all such as have no acquaintance with him be blinded and deceived : if he only be good, we must borrow and crave all good things of him alone : if all science be the Lord's, we must be *θεοδιδασκτοι*, "God's scholars : " if he only be almighty, all our power, strength, and ability cometh from him : if he be life, the end of such as be ignorant, and will not seek to know the Lord, shall be eternal death. For our Saviour and Mercy-stock saith, that this knowledge is eternal life : "This is eternal life, to know thee and Jesus Christ whom thou hast sent, to be the true God." But we must fetch the right knowledge and true description of him out of holy writ, which, as the apostle telleth, is profitable to teach, to control, to amend, and to instruct in all righteousness. I have made

Wisd. xiii.
Rom. i.
1 John i.
John xiv.
Luke xviii.
Ecclus. xxiv.
[24.]
Mark x.
John xvii.
2 Tim. iii.

this treatise of him out of the same; and forasmuch as my intent and matter herein is to portray and paint our Saviour Christ, who is the brightness of the everlasting light, the ^{Heb. i.} undefiled glass and lively image of the divine majesty, I do ^{Wisd. vii.} call it, THE IMAGE OF GOD: or else, because such things be here opened and discovered which be necessary to be believed and known of the lay and unlearned people (I would not have them utterly lack images) name it, if ye will, THE LAYMAN'S BOOK; for images were wont to be named *Libri Laicorum*, "the books of the laity." I am not the first that hath painted Christ: Paul painted him long sith to the Galatians, as he witnesseth, "I have ^{Gal. iii.} painted Jesus Christ before your eyes, and have crucified him amongst you;" and all the other apostles, evangelists, and prophets, were painters. My mind is, not to portray any new, strange, or unknown Image, but to renew, and repair again, the old Image that Paul made, which hath been so darkened with glosses, and is so bespotted with colours of man's wit, so stained through shameful covetousness, liberty, and greedy ambition, that marvel it is to see men so unreverent towards the majesty of God their maker.

Seneca, a wise and sage philosopher, willeth that meet gifts be not unmeetly given to unmeet persons, as armour to women, nets to students, wives to boys; and Christ, the wisdom of God, commandeth, "Give not that which is ^{Matt. vii.} holy to dogs, neither cast ye pearls before swine;" meaning thereby, that all kind of gifts ought to be agreeable and answerable to their degrees and vocations to whom they are given. Now, what thing could be devised more agreeable to your gracious estate than his Image, whose glory and honour you have always sought to advance, not without great danger of your goods and life?—for which you are bound to render him most hearty thanks, that he chose your grace for a blessed instrument to sweep clean

his house and church, to redress all abuses, and to restore again his fallen and decayed glory, maugre the head of all enemies. Therefore I do present and dedicate this Image, honourable father, unto your grace, both for the worthiness of the matter, which is incomparable; for the meetness of your person; for a perpetual monument of my good will towards your lordship; and also, for a testimony, token, and declaration, of my zeal and benevolence to my countrymen. If I shall see it to be profitable to them, I shall be encouraged to take no fruitful matters in hand, in which I desire continually to occupy myself, but the world is so evil, so unkind, so unthankful to students, that poverty causeth them to remit and slack their studies, and to seek the world to maintain their necessities. Abundance and wealth dwelleth only with those which have God's houses in possession, which eat up his people like bread, and are not content to live upon their own sweat, but do live upon other men's goods and labours, upon the church goods, which are the poor's. I do mean all such as, in the papistical time, were wont to live of their lands, to keep good hospitality, to maintain schools and houses of alms; and now they be purchasers and sellers-away of the same, usurers, rent-raisers, graziers, and farm-mongers, whereby hospitality, tillage, and many good houses, be decayed in England, and the realm is unpeopled and disfurnished. Besides, some be beer-brewers, some farmers of benefices, some persons, some vicars, buyers of impropriations, some deans of colleges, some prebendaries, and officers also in the king's house. Again, priests, which should be preachers and distributors of the holy sacraments, be lawyers, commissaries, chancellors, officials, proctors, receivers, stewards: the office of salvation is unregarded through covetousness. And lawyers, which be no priests, be parsons¹, vicars, prebendaries, against the ordinance of God, of which St Paul recordeth,

[¹ Persons, 1550; parsons, 1500.]

“Even so did the Lord ordain, that they which preach ^{1 Cor. ix.} the gospel should live of the gospel,” and no other, neither king, lord, gentleman, ne lawyer. And yet this mingle-mangle of spiritual and temporal regiment and offices is suffered, as if there were neither God, ne magistrate ordained of God, to redress such abuses. What marvel is it if man’s ordinances and statutes be broken, where the ordinance of God is plainly resisted, and not received?

Other some, that pretend they be true preachers of God’s word, and are counted holy and discreet men, retained the king’s chaplains, and with other lords both spiritual and temporal, be indeed benefice-mongers, prebend-mongers, have many archdeaconships, deaneries, and they do not the office of one of their vocations: some once a year, or twice peradventure, doth preach a sermon before the king, or at the Spittle², or at Paul’s cross, to delude and paint the world, and to uphold their good names; but in the country, where is most need, and where their livings lie, they preach not at all; the most part never preach. Idle chaplains many years possess and withhold wrongfully preachers’ livings. Is not the ordinance of God broken herein? Is not his proclamation disobeyed, which he proclaimeth by the mouth of St Paul, “He who laboureth ^{2 Thess. iii.} not ought not to eat”? Had Eleazar and Abiather ^{Abiather.} so many livings? Did Hely, Achimelech, and Sadoc, dispend ^{Zadock.} so much of the costs of parishes, and do nothing therefore? Did temporal men amongst the Jews, in the old testament, thus live of the altar as they do now of the gospel? Look on their examples: behold the apostles: ^{The apostles.} behold Timothe, and Tite; and if we do allow the doctrine of the primitive and apostolical church, let us follow

[² The well known Spital Sermons were originally preached at a pulpit-cross erected in the churchyard of “the Spittle”, or Hospital of St Mary, in the parish of St Botolph, Bishopsgate. Stow’s London. Strype’s Ed. Book ii. 98.]

The elder
fathers were
preaching
prelates.

the example of the same. Behold the elder fathers, Origen, Cyprian, Ambrose, Jerome, Austin, Chrysostom, and others, which spent all their lives in preaching God's word to the people, as appeareth plain in their works, which be either sermons, lessons, homilies to the people, or else disputations and confutations of heresies in their times. Their trade was to preach and expound the scriptures to the people on the holydays, and on some workdays; and then they procured their expositions and sermons to be written in Latin or Greek, for the erudition of them which followed. Some begin to renew this trade now in England: I beseech Almighty God to prosper them. I am sure that the best learned of them is not able to prove that it ought to be otherwise, or that the scriptures do allow these pluralities of livings, dispensations, tot-quots of promotions, non-residences, impropriations, and this mingle-mangle. Paul commandeth every man to exercise that vocation whereunto he is called. He alloweth every man one vocation, one office and occupation, not many; for he saith, *in vocatione*, "in his vocation," not "in his vocations."

1 Cor. vii.

I hear say an ecclesiastical law, which I have long desired, shall come forth shortly¹: I trust therefore that all spiritual abuses shall be redressed speedily, without any consideration of private lucre to any man, high or low, spiritual or temporal, and according to the counsel of which David speaketh, saying, "The word of God is my counsellor." Truly, unless these things be reformed, English service, homilies,

[¹ By the statute 3rd and 4th Edward VI. cap. xi., passed early in the year 1550, the king was empowered to authorise thirty-two persons to compile a new code of ecclesiastical law. This authority was not acted upon; but on the 11th November, 1551, a commission was directed to archbishop Cranmer and seven other persons, by which they were empowered to prepare a code of ecclesiastical law, for the consideration of the commissioners whom it was designed to appoint in conformity with the act of parliament. The code compiled by the eight commissioners was published in 1571, by Foxe, with the concurrence of archbishop Parker, under the title of *Reformatio Legum Ecclesiasticarum*.]

and the right use of the sacraments, do not make us christian men: we differ from the Turks but in outward rites and ceremonies, not in the substance of our faith, which is upright conversation and good life. But they which should reform others, some be entangled with the same vices themselves. Dicing and carding are forbidden, but dicing and carding-houses are upholden; some in their own houses, and in the king's majesty's court (God save his noble grace, and grant that virtue and knowledge may meet in his royal heart!) give ensample to his subjects to break his statutes and laws. Prisons in London, where men lie for debt, be dicing-houses; places of correction and punishment be dens and schools of unthriftiness; open drunkards have no punishment; adultery is recounted but a light matter; chaplains are found of the costs of poor parishes, through which disorder many 'thousands here in England be deprived of the sweet milk of God's word, and lack teachers to declare them their duties toward God and their king. This is not only my lamentation, but the lamenting of all true-hearted Christians, the voice of the commonalty, the decay of the commonwealth; and a joyful hearing, glad and pleasant news, to our enemies, that gape and look for the end of these matters, which will be destruction and ruin, if this darnel of covetousness and liberty, every man to do what him list, be not weeded out, and God's wrath pacified by some redress and amendment. For, seeing the head is so sick and diseased, what marvel is it if the body be so froward, so disobedient, and so desperate? If thou wilt heal the body, thou must begin with the head; for his health cometh thence: I would say, the next way to make obedient and godly people is the godly ensample of magistrates. It is written: *Secundum*

[² In these and some subsequent allusions to the unquietness of the times, Hutchinson glances at the insurrections in Norfolk, Cornwall, and other parts of England, which occurred in the year 1548.]

Ecclus. x. *judicem populi, sic, &c.*, "as the rulers of the people be, such are their subjects." They are named of God "the heads of the people," of others "the bellies of the commonwealth." As the head is troubled when the hand, the leg, yea, the little finger, suffereth anguish, and the belly sendeth sustenance to all the parts of the body; so rulers, in that they are called heads and bellies, are admonished of their office to regard the need and oppression of their subjects, and to care for the whole body of the commonwealth, lest, if they tender one part and oppress another, it breed and gender division, strife, rebellion, and parties, as it hath done. And they likewise are admonished to be obedient, tractable, and lowly of service. Nothing is more safeguard to a prince than the love and heart of his commons, and nothing is more dangerous, more slippery, than to be feared; for, as father Ennius said,

Ennius
[Fragmenta
Edit. Hes-
sel. Amster.
1707, p. 298.]

"Quem metuunt oderunt:
Quem quisque odit, perisse expetit."

"Whom men do fear, him do they hate withal;
And whom they hate, they wish and seek his fall."

Ecclus. x. And Jesus, the son of Sirach, saith: "An unwise prince
1 Kings xii. spoileth his people." Look on the ensample of Roboam, and upon the good counsel that his young minions gave their king: I think he rewarded them for it afterward, as desirers of division and parties. They that will be feared of many, must needs be afraid of many. The glory of a king is the welfare of his subjects. "It was a merry world," quod the papist, "before the bible came forth in English; all things were good cheap, and plentiful." Nay, nay, if these things were reformed, and every man, both spiritual and temporal, were compelled by some law and statute to serve but in one vocation and one office, we should have a golden world; England would become a paradise; God would bless us, as he hath promised, both heavenly and bodily. The redress and amendment of enormities in the

commonweal must come from the magistrates, not by rebels: for they are powers exalted and ordained of God for the same intent, who healeth the body by the policy of the head, not of the feet. If not, we shall, instead of the comfortable promises of God, be destroyed and overwhelmed with terrible plagues, which he threateneth to the breakers Deut. x. viii. of his law, as dearth, war, dissension, uproars, insurrections, pestilence, strange diseases, &c. We have a taste of these curses already; God hath bent his bow and let slip some of his arrows, which be his plagues, long sith among us: we may perceive by that which hath chanced what touch he will keep with us hereafter, and what is like to follow.

O eternal God, spare thy servants. Let not the enemies of the truth have such cause to rejoice. Suffer not hogs¹, filthy and covetous men, to root and tread down thy vineyard any longer, but hold up the staff of thine inheritance. Let not the preaching of thy sweet Son increase the damnation of thy people, but do thou draw and turn them, work their amendment, who holdest in thy hands the hearts of rulers and all men. All these enormities be the fruits of evil hearts: make them, O God, clean-hearted, that they may pour forth good fruits by the operation of thy Holy Spirit;

who preserve your grace in good health,

and make your government

prosperous to you,

to this realm,

and to the

church of

God.

So be it.

At London the xxvi. of June.

[¹ Gods, 1550; hogs, 1560.]

MASTER DOCTOR BYLL¹.

Images are made to put us in mind
Of that which is dead, or far absent ;
But God is neither, as we do find,
But aye living, and each where present.

Images are cursed, graven by man's wit,
In place that are set for any religion ;
But an Image made out of holy writ
Is not forbidden, in mine opinion.

An Image is painted here, in this book,
Neither with false colours nor man's inventions ;
But out of God's book set out to all folk,
Fruitful and necessary to all true Christians.

Hutchinson shope it for good men to regard ;
With thanks his costs, with praise his pains reward.

[¹ Dr William Bill, a hearty favourer of the reformation, was successively master of St John's and Trinity Colleges in Cambridge, almoner to queen Elizabeth, provost of Eton, and dean of Westminster. He died July 15, 1561, and was buried in Westminster abbey. Harl. MS. 7028. fo. 139.]

THE IMAGE OF GOD.

THE FIRST CHAPTER.

We must learn what God is, of God's word, and not of man's wisdom.

THE first point and chief profession of a true christian man is, most stedfastly to believe that there be three persons, and one God; as we are taught in baptism, which is commanded to be ministered in the name of the Father, Matt. xxviii. of the Son, and of² the Holy Spirit. For in that bath of holy baptism we are regenerate, washed, purified, and made the children of God, by the workmanship of the three persons, which formed also heaven and earth, and all the glorious fairness of them; they brought the children of Israel out of the house of bondage; they preserved them from the tyranny and oppression of the heathen; they gave also unto the heathen prosperity and adversity, peace and war, poverty and riches; they govern the universal church; whose works be inseparable. Wherefore I think it necessary to declare what God is, and what *a person* signifieth in the Deity; forasmuch as the common sort of people are ignorant of their maker and creator, and the signification of *a person* is applied to diverse things. And because these two points be dark and hidden mysteries, and no less necessary to be known of all men than hard to teach, I will shape my speech after such a perspicuous fashion, that I may, by God's help, make *an Image of God* for the capacity of the simple and unlearned. God spake to the Israelites out of the fire in the mount Oreb, and it is written, that they "heard a voice, but they saw Deut. iv. no image," because they should make none after it. For it is a dishonour to God, a derogation and defaming of

[² And the, 1550; and of the, 1560.]

the divine nature, to make any similitude thereof, either of gold, silver, stone, wood, or in thought and mind. We must hear his voice, we must learn what God is, out of God's book, not of man's wisdom. For, if "all things which be under the sun be too hard for man," as the wise man telleth, how much more be the secrets of God's nature hid from his eyes! of the which Esay writeth, "Truly, Lord, thou art hidden from us;" counting himself one of the ignorant. Simonides, a famous clerk among the heathen, teacheth us how feeble man's wit is in declaring this mystery; who, when he was inquired of king Hiero, what a thing God was, he asked a day respite, and the next day, when he was inquired again, he asked two days more, and when they were expired, he asked more, not ceasing to double his days, until Hiero required of him why he did so? "For because," saith¹ Simonides, "the more I consider it, the darker it is unto me." And no marvel; for as no man knoweth what is in man but the spirit of man, so all men be ignorant what God is, except they be taught of the Spirit of God. For, seeing Paul saith, "The eye hath not seen, nor the ear hath not heard, no yet have entered into the heart of man, the things which God hath prepared for them that love him;" how much more doth he himself surmount our capacities! But it followeth, "God hath opened them unto us by his Spirit; for the Spirit searcheth all things, yea, the bottom of God's secrets." And this Spirit speaketh and breatheth on us in the scriptures; as it is written, "My words are Spirit and life."

Eccles. i. the divine nature, to make any similitude thereof, either of gold, silver, stone, wood, or in thought and mind. We must hear his voice, we must learn what God is, out of God's book, not of man's wisdom. For, if "all things which be under the sun be too hard for man," as the wise man telleth, how much more be the secrets of God's nature hid from his eyes! of the which Esay writeth, "Truly, Lord, thou art hidden from us;" counting himself one of the ignorant. Simonides, a famous clerk among the heathen, teacheth us how feeble man's wit is in declaring this mystery; who, when he was inquired of king Hiero, what a thing God was, he asked a day respite, and the next day, when he was inquired again, he asked two days more, and when they were expired, he asked more, not ceasing to double his days, until Hiero required of him why he did so? "For because," saith¹ Simonides, "the more I consider it, the darker it is unto me." And no marvel; for as no man knoweth what is in man but the spirit of man, so all men be ignorant what God is, except they be taught of the Spirit of God. For, seeing Paul saith, "The eye hath not seen, nor the ear hath not heard, no yet have entered into the heart of man, the things which God hath prepared for them that love him;" how much more doth he himself surmount our capacities! But it followeth, "God hath opened them unto us by his Spirit; for the Spirit searcheth all things, yea, the bottom of God's secrets." And this Spirit speaketh and breatheth on us in the scriptures; as it is written, "My words are Spirit and life."

Isai. xlv. the divine nature, to make any similitude thereof, either of gold, silver, stone, wood, or in thought and mind. We must hear his voice, we must learn what God is, out of God's book, not of man's wisdom. For, if "all things which be under the sun be too hard for man," as the wise man telleth, how much more be the secrets of God's nature hid from his eyes! of the which Esay writeth, "Truly, Lord, thou art hidden from us;" counting himself one of the ignorant. Simonides, a famous clerk among the heathen, teacheth us how feeble man's wit is in declaring this mystery; who, when he was inquired of king Hiero, what a thing God was, he asked a day respite, and the next day, when he was inquired again, he asked two days more, and when they were expired, he asked more, not ceasing to double his days, until Hiero required of him why he did so? "For because," saith¹ Simonides, "the more I consider it, the darker it is unto me." And no marvel; for as no man knoweth what is in man but the spirit of man, so all men be ignorant what God is, except they be taught of the Spirit of God. For, seeing Paul saith, "The eye hath not seen, nor the ear hath not heard, no yet have entered into the heart of man, the things which God hath prepared for them that love him;" how much more doth he himself surmount our capacities! But it followeth, "God hath opened them unto us by his Spirit; for the Spirit searcheth all things, yea, the bottom of God's secrets." And this Spirit speaketh and breatheth on us in the scriptures; as it is written, "My words are Spirit and life."

Simonides. [Cicero de natura Deorum, Lib. i. c. 22.] the divine nature, to make any similitude thereof, either of gold, silver, stone, wood, or in thought and mind. We must hear his voice, we must learn what God is, out of God's book, not of man's wisdom. For, if "all things which be under the sun be too hard for man," as the wise man telleth, how much more be the secrets of God's nature hid from his eyes! of the which Esay writeth, "Truly, Lord, thou art hidden from us;" counting himself one of the ignorant. Simonides, a famous clerk among the heathen, teacheth us how feeble man's wit is in declaring this mystery; who, when he was inquired of king Hiero, what a thing God was, he asked a day respite, and the next day, when he was inquired again, he asked two days more, and when they were expired, he asked more, not ceasing to double his days, until Hiero required of him why he did so? "For because," saith¹ Simonides, "the more I consider it, the darker it is unto me." And no marvel; for as no man knoweth what is in man but the spirit of man, so all men be ignorant what God is, except they be taught of the Spirit of God. For, seeing Paul saith, "The eye hath not seen, nor the ear hath not heard, no yet have entered into the heart of man, the things which God hath prepared for them that love him;" how much more doth he himself surmount our capacities! But it followeth, "God hath opened them unto us by his Spirit; for the Spirit searcheth all things, yea, the bottom of God's secrets." And this Spirit speaketh and breatheth on us in the scriptures; as it is written, "My words are Spirit and life."

1 Cor. ii. the divine nature, to make any similitude thereof, either of gold, silver, stone, wood, or in thought and mind. We must hear his voice, we must learn what God is, out of God's book, not of man's wisdom. For, if "all things which be under the sun be too hard for man," as the wise man telleth, how much more be the secrets of God's nature hid from his eyes! of the which Esay writeth, "Truly, Lord, thou art hidden from us;" counting himself one of the ignorant. Simonides, a famous clerk among the heathen, teacheth us how feeble man's wit is in declaring this mystery; who, when he was inquired of king Hiero, what a thing God was, he asked a day respite, and the next day, when he was inquired again, he asked two days more, and when they were expired, he asked more, not ceasing to double his days, until Hiero required of him why he did so? "For because," saith¹ Simonides, "the more I consider it, the darker it is unto me." And no marvel; for as no man knoweth what is in man but the spirit of man, so all men be ignorant what God is, except they be taught of the Spirit of God. For, seeing Paul saith, "The eye hath not seen, nor the ear hath not heard, no yet have entered into the heart of man, the things which God hath prepared for them that love him;" how much more doth he himself surmount our capacities! But it followeth, "God hath opened them unto us by his Spirit; for the Spirit searcheth all things, yea, the bottom of God's secrets." And this Spirit speaketh and breatheth on us in the scriptures; as it is written, "My words are Spirit and life."

John vi. the divine nature, to make any similitude thereof, either of gold, silver, stone, wood, or in thought and mind. We must hear his voice, we must learn what God is, out of God's book, not of man's wisdom. For, if "all things which be under the sun be too hard for man," as the wise man telleth, how much more be the secrets of God's nature hid from his eyes! of the which Esay writeth, "Truly, Lord, thou art hidden from us;" counting himself one of the ignorant. Simonides, a famous clerk among the heathen, teacheth us how feeble man's wit is in declaring this mystery; who, when he was inquired of king Hiero, what a thing God was, he asked a day respite, and the next day, when he was inquired again, he asked two days more, and when they were expired, he asked more, not ceasing to double his days, until Hiero required of him why he did so? "For because," saith¹ Simonides, "the more I consider it, the darker it is unto me." And no marvel; for as no man knoweth what is in man but the spirit of man, so all men be ignorant what God is, except they be taught of the Spirit of God. For, seeing Paul saith, "The eye hath not seen, nor the ear hath not heard, no yet have entered into the heart of man, the things which God hath prepared for them that love him;" how much more doth he himself surmount our capacities! But it followeth, "God hath opened them unto us by his Spirit; for the Spirit searcheth all things, yea, the bottom of God's secrets." And this Spirit speaketh and breatheth on us in the scriptures; as it is written, "My words are Spirit and life."

Experience doth teach us, and the Apostle warneth us, how fantastical our heads be in searching God's mysteries. For some imagine God to be a corporal thing, and of man's shape and form, because the scripture doth grant, in diverse places, unto God hands, feet, ears, eyes, mouth and tongue; called commonly Anthropomorphites. Read the tenth book of the Tripartite History, seventh chapter², and there you shall find a great contention concerning this matter between the monks of Egypt and Theophilus bishop of Alexandria; albeit the sect of the Epicures³ held this

Lib. x. Hist. Tripar. c. 7.

[¹ Saith, 1550; said, 1560.]

[² In the *Auctores Eccles. Historia*, p. 543. Basil. 1535.]

[³ Epicures, 1550; Epicurus, 1560.]

assertion long before, as it appeareth in the first book of Tully, *De natura Deorum*, where this opinion is eloquently [c. 23.] confuted by Cotta, a senator of Rome.

Other rob God of his glory, and give it unto his crea- Rom. i.
 tures, worshipping the sun, the moon, the fire, yea, and
 mortal men, for the immortal God; and unreasonable beasts,
 for the author of all reason, wisdom, and understanding.
 And some dishonour him by honouring of dead saints, and
 worshipping of bread and wine, without any commandment
 of the scripture, any example in the old or new testament,
 any authority of the doctors. I will not stand in rehearsing
 the sundry fantasies of men as touching God. What is
 the cause of all these fancies and diversities, but that
 for which Isaiah controlet us, saying, "The ox knoweth Isa. i.
 his lord, and the ass his master's stall, but we know not
 God"? Come, therefore, good christian people, and hearken
 to the words of the Lord; and I will shew you, in them,
 the majesty of God himself, his face and countenance,
 his magnificence and highness, which cannot abide the
 fellowship of any creatures. Paul unto the Hebrews warneth
 us, that we "be not carried away with diverse and strange Heb. xiii.
 doctrine;" which is as much to say, as if he should com- Strange doc-
trine, what
it is.
 mand us to fly man's doctrine. For men be the strangers,
 whose doctrine he biddeth us fly, as Peter witnesseth: 1 Pet. ii.
 "Dearly beloved, I beseech you, as strangers and pilgrims,
 &c." Paul also expoundeth himself, saying, that Abraham,
 Isaac, and Jacob, "confessed themselves to be strangers (Heb. xi.)
 and pilgrims upon the earth, dwelling in tents." And
 Christ saith, that his sheep hear not the voice of strangers; John x.
 that is, the doctrine of men, the which in the eighth of Mark viii.
 Mark is called "the leaven of the Pharisees and of Herod." The leaven
of the Pha-
risees.
 Wherefore, if we be sheep of his pasture, and people of
 his hands, let us follow his counsel, (for he is our shep-
 herd, our head, and the truth,) and of his apostles, (for
 they are his labourers and workmen;) remembering that
 David saith, "Understanding is good to them that do Psalm cxi.
 after it." For he that knoweth his master's will, and will Luke xii.
 not follow it, he shall be more grievously punished. Christ
 saith unto a woman of Samaria, at Jacob's well, besides
 Sichar, that she and her people worshipped they knew John iv.
 not what; for they leaned to custom and fathers, rather Samaritans.

than to the text of God's word, saying, "Our fathers worshipped in this mountain;" but the Jews, cleaving unto God's word, and worshipping in the temple, knew what they worshipped. The which was written for our instruction, that we should repair unto the scriptures in all doubts and controversies, the which is the only touch-stone to examine and try all doctrine, the forged, pretended, and false, from the sincere, germane, and true. "The weapons of our war," saith Paul, "are not carnal things, but the power of God to cast down strong holds, to overthrow inventions," that is, to vanquish heresy, to destroy all ill doctrine. Verily the gospel is that "power of God," for so Paul termeth it, "unto salvation to all them that believe." The gospel is the spiritual sword that shall prevail against Sathan, much more against heretics, and his members: this sword shall overcome antichrist, whom God shall slay with the breath of his mouth; with this sword Christ confounded the devil; maintained his disciples, slandered of the Pharisees as sabbath-breakers; proved the resurrection against the Sadducees; taught a certain young man the way to heaven; contented the Pharisees touching marriage: with this sword the apostles in divers assemblies confuted the Jews after Christ's ascension, as in their Acts is registered.

The papists reply, that the scriptures are not sufficient and able to confound heretics, but their interpretations and glosses upon them; because they be not plain and evident but dark and hard, and may be wrested to many purposes. How did Christ confute the devil? with scripture, or expounding the scriptures? Again, God's word is a lantern, a light; it turneth the soul, it giveth wisdom even unto babes, it rejoiceth the heart, it lighteneth the eyes, it is a candle shining in a dark place, and therefore not hard nor dark, but easy and plain, and to be studied of all men, high and low, poor and rich, spiritual and lay. For the holy and patient man Job saith, that the life of man is nothing else than a very warfare upon the earth, full of misery and trouble, set about with a great multitude of mortal enemies, the devil, the world, and the flesh. Wherefore, the sword of God's word is very necessary unto all that be in this warfare. For who goeth to battle without a sword? Doth not he that taketh away

Jews.

2 Cor. x.

Scripture is
the power
of God.
Rom. i.
A sword.

Ephes. i.
2 Thess. ii.
Matt. iv.
Matt. xii. [3
—5.]

Matt. xxii.

Lantern.
Psal. cxix.

2 Peter i.
To be
studied of
all men.

Job vii. [1.]

God's word
is a sword.

thy sword betray thee unto thine adversaries? Christ saith, "He that hath no sword, let him sell his coat and buy him one;" and the papists seek all means possible to spoil the people of their sword, which is God's word, saying it will make them heretics: for, *Litera occidit, spiritus est qui vivificat*, "The letter killeth, and the spirit quickeneth." Is God's word the letter? Then we must not read it, lest it kill us; lest it make us heretics. But hearken what Master Doctor of all verity saith, *Sermo tuus veritas est*, "Thy word is truth." And Peter calleth the self-same "immortal seed," by which we are born anew, and which lasteth and liveth for ever." Doth immortal seed kill us? Doth truth make us heretics? Christ declareth the operation of this seed, saying, "Now you are clean by my word;" and Paul saith, *Fides ex auditu*, that faith cometh thereof, not heresy. These fruits this seed engendereth, where it is sown, truth, cleanness of life, regeneration, and faith. He that talketh with wise men becometh wiser by their communication; and shall not he that talketh with God, the author of all wisdom, in his scriptures, be edified thereby? Then what is *Litera occidens*, "the murdering letter"? Truly, the law, which causeth anger, by which cometh knowledge of sin, which is a schoolmaster unto Christ. The law first killeth, that Christ may make alive; it condemneth, that Christ may justify; it sheweth sin, he healeth sin. The gospel is a sermon of God's mercy, that he hath blotted out our sins by faith only in Christ's blood; it maketh no heretics; twelve men, by preaching of it, made the unfaithful, and heretics, faithful and true Christians. This candle was not light to be put under a bushel, but to be set in the candlestick, to give light to them that be in God's house. For Christ crieth, "Woe worth them, that take away the key of knowledge, neither entering themselves, ne yet suffering other to enter." The key of knowledge is God's holy testament and word, that which before we called the touchstone to discern good doctrine from evil. When they had taken the touchstone from us, they made us believe that pewter was silver, and they sold us copper for gold, making the scriptures a nose of wax and a tennis-ball, wresting them unto every purpose. Thus we see from whence we must fetch the knowledge of God: verily, out of God's word,

Luke xvii.

2 Cor. iii.

John xvii.

1 Peter i.

Immortal seed.

John xv.

Rom. x.

2 Cor. iii.

The killing letter, what it is. Rom. ix. Rom. iii. Gal. iii.

Matt. v.

Luke vi.

God's word the key, the touchstone.

Isai. xxxiii.
1 Cor. i.

which is the truth, and not out of the questionists, or school-men, or other like. For he saith by his apostle, "I will destroy the wisdom of the wise, and I will cast away the understanding of the prudent. Where is the wise? where is the scribe? where is the searcher of this world? Hath not God made the wisdom of this world foolishness?" As God is known only of himself, so we must only learn of him, what he is. As for man, he knoweth no more what God is, than the unreasonable beasts know what man is; yea, and so much less, as there is more difference between God and man, than between man and the beasts.

Psal. cv.

Wherefore, all leaven, all strange doctrine and man's wisdom, set apart, I will see what the scriptures teach us concerning God: nor I will not disdain to ask, where I shall see cause, nor be ashamed to learn, where I am ignorant: desiring him that readeth this treatise, where the scripture is plain, to believe, for, except we believe, we shall not understand; where it is doubtful, to search with me; where he seeth himself out of the way, to revoke his opinion; where he seeth me in an error, to inform me, and I will be glad to learn; and so we shall follow the rule of charity, searching both after God, [of] whom it is written, "Seek the Lord and his strength; seek his face evermore."

THE SECOND CHAPTER.

God only is of himself.

Exod. iii.

WHEN Moses desired the Lord to shew him his name, the Lord said unto him, "I AM THAT I AM." That is to wit, "I am of myself, I am only. Nothing is of itself without creation, without corruption, save only I, which am that I am." Which understanding God himself doth declare, speaking further unto Moses: "This shalt thou say unto the children of Israel, HE THAT IS, did send me unto

you;" for nothing is, save only God, forasmuch as they stand not by their proper strength, but by the power and goodness of him. The heavens, the waters, the earth, the hills would fall, unless he measured the heaven with his span, held the waters in his fist, comprehended the whole earth in three fingers, weighed the mountains and hills in a balance: by which phrases is meant, that he governeth, ordereth, and disposeth them as he listeth. Neither the sun could give light, ne yet the fire heat, all things would decay and perish, unless he did rule them, as the soul doth man's body. Unto whom only that belongeth and appertaineth which the Greeks call *on*, the Latinists *est*, as witnesseth the apostle: *Non est in illo* 1 sai. xl. 2 Cor. i. [20.]
EST et NON, sed EST in illo est.

Of all other things *NON* may be said, for once they were not; but not of God, because he was always: he is, and he is to come; all things have their being of him, and he of himself. Except we understand this saying, "HE THAT IS, sent me unto you," after this sort, it maketh no difference between God and his creatures. For albeit they have not their beginning of themselves, but of him, yet it is truly said of them, that they are. Moreover, what could the Israelites have thought Moses to have meant by these words, "HE THAT IS," than a certain man sent him unto them? If they had taken Moses so, they would not have left Egypt and followed him into the wilderness; but they took these words, "HE THAT IS," for God himself, and therefore followed him: the which, throughout the bible, be never spoken of any creature, but only of him that made all creatures. The name of God also declareth this sense to be true, which is *Iehou*, of four letters in all tongues; in Greek, *Theos*; in Latin, *Deus*; in English and Dutch, *God*; in the French, *Dieu*; in Spanish, *Dios*; in the Almaïnes' tongue, *Gott*; and therefore called *Tetragrammaton*, and in Latin, *Quadrilitterum*; derived of *Essendo*, or rather that word that signifieth *Esse* in the Hebrew is derived of it. The Jews read for that word *Adonai*, not that it cannot be expressed in their tongue, but for a reverence to God's name, the which, as they thought, was not once to be named.

THE THIRD CHAPTER.

God is a spirit, and how the scriptures do grant unto him a head, eyes, hands, feet, and all other parts of man's body. God is a bird, a shooter, a husbandman; Christ is his image, and man also.

WE read also in the scriptures, that God is a spirit, and

John iv. no corporal thing: "God is a spirit, and they that worship him must worship him in spirit and truth¹." The Lord

2 Cor. iii. no doubt is a spirit; but you will say, "If God be a spirit,
Isai. xl. how is it that the prophet affirmeth him to measure heaven with his span, to hold the waters with his fist, and the earth in three fingers?" David also saith: "The eyes of the Lord

Psal. xxxiv. are over the righteous, and his ears are open unto their prayers," and "the hand of the Lord hath driven out the heathen." Hath a spirit fingers, hands, eyes, and ears? Wheresoever scripture doth attribute unto God a head, ears, eyes, eyelids, nose, mouth, lips, tongue, heart, womb, hands right or left, fingers or a finger, an arm, hinder parts, feet, it is not to be understand literally, but a spiritual sense is to be gathered of such words. Because our understandings be weak, and not able to perceive God, if he should use such words as become his majesty, he borroweth common and plain words to declare a difficult matter unto us: and even as mothers, before they can teach their young babes to speak, are fain as it were to lisp, stammer, and stut with them; so God, to teach our capacities, useth these familiar manner of speeches.

1. What God's head is. When thou readeſt that God hath a head, thou muſt understand his divine nature, which was before all things, and unto it all things be obedient.
2. His hairs. His hairs ſignify his angels and the whole multitude of the choſen. Dan. vii: "His clothing was as white as ſnow, the hair of his head like pure wool;" where the head of God is his deity and godhead, his clothing and his hairs be his angels and elect, which be like white ſnow and pure wool. God is ſaid to have eyes, becauſe he ſeeth all things, and nothing
3. Eyes.

[¹ And 1550; and truth, 1560.]

is hid from him; "in whose sight," as the apostle telleth, [Heb. iv. 13.]
 "no creature is invisible, for all things be naked and open unto his eyes." His eyes also sometimes be taken for his favour: "The eyes of the Lord are over the righteous." Psal. xxxiv.
 His eyelids be taken for his secret judgments: "His eye-^{Psal. xi. Eyelids. Ears.} lids behold the children of men." He is said to have ears, because he heareth all things: "The ear of the jealous^{Wisdom i.} heareth all things, and the noise of the grudgings shall not be hid." His nose doth signify his inspirations in the^{Nose.} hearts of the faithful: "Smoke went out of his nostrils." 2 Sam. xxii.
 The face of God is the knowledge of his divine nature, of^{His face.} the which it is written², "Shew us the light of thy coun-^{Psal. lxx.} tenance and we shall be whole;" that is, "grant us to know thee." Otherwise God's face signifieth the invisible nature of Christ's divinity³, as Exodus doth declare: "You shall^{Exod. xxxlii.} see my hinder parts, but my face you cannot see;" that is, "thou shalt see Christ's humanity, but his divinity cannot be seen." God's mouth is taken for the Son of God the^{Mouth.} Father: "We have provoked his mouth unto wrath;" or his commandment: "The mouth of the Lord hath spoken^{Isai. lviii.} it." God's tongue is the Holy Ghost: "My tongue is^{Tongue. Psal. xiv. ?} the pen of a ready writer." His arm signifieth Christ, of whom Jeremy writeth: "Thou hast brought thy people^{Jer. xxxii. 11} of Israel out of the land of Egypt with an almighty hand, with a stretched out arm." Where also Christ is called the hand of God; for he is both his arm and his hand. ^{Hand. Christ. Power.} Moreover, God's hand is taken sometime for his power: "Behold, ye house of Israel, ye are in my hand, even as^{Jer. xviii.} the clay in the potter's hand;" some time for his scourge⁴: "I will stretch forth my hand over Juda and Hieru-^{Zeph. i.} salem, and I will root out the remnant of Baal." Of the which scourge Job saith: "The hand of the Lord hath^{Job xix.} touched me." Furthermore, Christ is called God's right^{Right hand.} hand: "The right hand of the Lord hath done marvels, the right hand of the Lord hath gotten the victory." It is used also for the glory of the Father, concerning which^{Christ's glory.} he saith to his Son: "Sit on my right hand." And in^{Psal. cxviii.} some places, for everlasting joy and life: "And he shall^{Matt. xx.}

[² It is, 1550; is, 1560.]

[³ Exodus xxxlii. 1550; as Exo. doth declare, 1560.]

[⁴ Scourge, I, 1550; scourge, saith he, I, 1560.]

set the sheep on his right hand, and the goats on the left hand ;” where, as his right hand is taken for everlasting joy, so his left hand signifieth the torments of the wicked. God’s finger is the Holy Ghost : “ If I cast out devils in the finger of God, &c.” For where Luke saith, “ In the finger of God,” it is in Matthew, “ If I cast out devils in the Spirit of God.” God’s finger therefore is his Holy Comforter. For as the hand, finger, and arm, are three, and yet but one body ; so the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost, are three persons, and one substance, one God.

Left hand.

Luke xi.

Matt. xii.

His finger.

The heart of God.

Psal. xlv.

Womb.

Psal. cx. [3.]

Shoulders.
Psal. xci.
Hinder
parts.

Feet.

Psal. viii.

Deut. xxxiii.

An exhortation to swearers².

The heart of God the Father signifieth the secret of his wisdom, of which he begat his Word, that is, his Son, without beginning, without any passion : “ My heart is inditing a good matter.” His womb is used in the same signification : “ Of my womb, before the morning star, I begat thee.” God is said also to have shoulders, because he beareth up all things as it were upon his shoulders : for all things stand by him. The hinder parts of God is Christ’s humanity, the which he took upon him in the end of the world, that we might live without end ; which is called also God’s feet. For as his head signifieth his divinity, so his feet signify Christ’s humanity, the which is subject unto God’s deity, as our feet are unto our heads : “ Thou hast put all things in subjection under his feet.” In some places preachers of God’s word be meant by his feet : “ They that draw nigh his feet shall taste of his doctrine.”

You swearers and blasphemers, which use to swear by God’s heart, arms, nails, bowels³, legs, and hands, learn what these things signify, and leave your abominable oaths. For when thou swearest by God’s heart, thou swearest by God’s wisdom ; when thou swearest by God’s arms, thou swearest by Christ ; when thou swearest [by his] hands or⁴ legs, thou swearest by his humanity ; when thou swearest by his tongue and finger, thou swearest by the Holy Ghost ; and swearing by his head, thou swearest by his divine and blessed nature ; and swearing by his hairs, thou abusest his creatures, by which thou art forbidden to swear. When an oath is

¹ Fete, as in Deute. xxxiii, 1550 ; fete. In, 1560.]

² ‘An exhortation to swearers’ does not occur in the edition of 1550.]

³ This word is substituted for one of a very repulsive character.]

⁴ Hands or legs, 1550 ; hands, legs, 1560.]

necessary, we are bound to swear by God only, unto whom all honour is due; for we honour that thing whereby we swear. God is honoured by swearing.

It is naught to swear by the mass, a profanation of Christ's supper, and a patched creature of the bishop of Rome, which was longer in patching then Salomon's great temple in building. Neither is it lawful to swear by any saints, as judges and stewards make the simple people do at sessions and courts; for if they be to be sworn by, they are to be prayed unto, and to be honoured. God only is to be sworn by.

David saith: "All they that swear by him shall be commended." And Paul unto the Hebrews Psal. lxxiii.

speaketh thus, that God, "because he had no greater thing to swear by, swore by himself;" whereby we must gather, Heb. vi.

that we must swear by God only. They that swear by his creatures, or by the mass, be idolaters. But some will say, if we honour that thing whereby we swear, let us swear by God, that we may honour him. Brother, be not deceived: God is honoured by swearing, but how? Truly, when thou swearest by him in a weighty matter of life and death, before an officer, or in any other matters of importance, thou dost him honour and homage: but if in every trifle thou call him to witness, thou dishonourest him, and breakest his commandment, which saith: *Non assumes nomen Domini*, &c. "Thou shalt not take the name of thy Lord God in vain." Swear therefore by God, as God hath commaded thee, and thou honourest him. I trust now it is evident, that God, notwithstanding all these fore-said parts and members, is a spirit, and no bodily, no corporal, no sensible thing. If there be any that think otherwise, I would fain learn how they set the scriptures together, which cannot be contrary one to another; for scripture is John xvii. truth, and truth can by no means be contrary to truth^s.

If they will prove of the places before that God is like man, I will prove also, because the scripture saith, "Who is this that cometh from Edom with stained red clothes of Bosra, which is so costly," that God goeth in a red coat; which if it be true, he must needs have a tailor, or else make it himself, for those words are spoken of God, as the place sheweth. But if we weigh the place diligently, we shall find, that Edom is the earth, and the stained red clothes are Christ's blood, which he did Isai. lxxiii.

ed no force
What stained red clothes be. Edom.

[^s To truth, 1550; to the truth, 1560.]

shed upon earth for our sins. And they which demand who he is, be his creatures, which shall marvel at the wisdom of God in delivering mankind from the bondage of the spiritual Pharaoh by blood, by death, by the cross. I will prove also that he hath shoes; for he saith by David: "Over Edom will I stretch out my shoe." And then he must needs have a shoemaker, or else make shoes himself. But Edom is the earth, the apostles' feet be his shoes; for it is written: "How beautiful are the feet of them which bring glad tidings of peace." He stretched his shoe over the earth, when he sent them to preach to all creatures: for "their sound went into all lands, their words to the ends of the world." I may prove also, with like arguments unto these, because God's word doth attribute wings unto God, that he is a bird; and so, if he be like a man and a bird both, he is a monster: and because it doth attribute unto him bow, shafts, and quiver, that he useth shooting; because it granteth to him a fan, a floor, wheat and chaff, that he occupieth husbandry. David saith, "Defend me under the shadow of thy wings," likening God to a bird, forasmuch as he is no less careful for his chosen than the hen is for her chickens, as Christ declareth very well, crying: "Jerusalem, Jerusalem, how often would I have gathered thy children together, as the hen gathereth² her chickens under her wings, and ye would not." And it granteth God bow and shafts and a quiver, to signify him to be a punisher of the ungodly, and a rewarder of the godly; forasmuch as men minister help or vengeance one to another oftentimes through bows and shafts, and one prince aideth another with archers. "He hath bent his bow," saith David, "and made it ready, he hath prepared weapons of death, and ordained arrows to destroy;" that is, he will avenge evil men, he will reward them for their oppression, he will punish them for their ungracious devices, except they amend; he hath "whet his sword." And well may God be compared to a shooter. For as the shooter, the less or more he draweth his shaft, his stroke is thereafter, and if he draw it far and up to the iron, then it payeth home, as they say, then it giveth a mighty stroke; so God sometime

2. *Psalm*
Psal. lx.

What God's shoe is.

John x¹.

Psal. xix.

Psal. xvii.

3. *Wings*
4. *Archery*
Psal. vii.

Matt. iii.

5. *Sanctification*
Matt. xxiii.

How God is said to be a shooter.

Psal. vii.

[¹ This should probably be Rom. x. 15.]

[² Gathereth, 1550; gathered, 1560.]

differreth to punish men for their sins, and therefore, except they amend when he punisheth, he will draw his shaft to the head, and strike most grievously. Remember, man, that God is a shooter; heap not his wrath against thee; prolong not the time; despise not "the riches of his goodness, which leadeth thee to repentance." Rom. ii. Likewise the scripture calleth him a husbandman, for many causes. *Pater meus agricola est*, "My father is a husbandman," saith How God is said to be a husbandman. John xv. Christ. The husbandman dungeth his land, tilleth and dresseth it, that it may bring forth good corn: so Almighty God tilleth and cleanseth the hearts of his people, the which be prone unto evil, that they may bring forth good works, not tares. For we are his husbandry, as Paul witnesseth, speaking of the congregation: "We are God's labourers, 1 Cor. iii. ye are God's husbandry, ye are God's building." The husbandman diggeth up all unfruitful trees, pareth off all rotten boughs, weedeth out cockle and tares, and casteth them into the fire: so God will serve them that he shall find empty of good works, and without oil in their lamps. The Matt. xvi. The husbandman appointeth his servants to purge his floor, and with the fan he separateth the good seed from the chaff: even so God shall send his angels to his floor, that is, into this world, and they shall carry the good seed into everlasting barns, but the chaff and dross shall be thrown into a furnace of fire, where is wailing and gnashing of Matt. xv. teeth: for they are God's reapers, and the end of the world is a harvest, as one of the reapers telleth us, saying, "Thrust Rev. vi. in thy sickle and reap, for the time is come to reap, and the corn of the earth is ripe." Who doth not see that these things are to be taken figurally in God? If the parts of man be verily in God, he hath a marvellous fist that holdeth all the waters; his little finger is bigger than St. Christopher's great³ toe⁴, for he comprehendeth the whole

[³ Greater, 1550; great, 1560.]

[⁴ The huge bulk of Saint Christopher is commemorated by the writers of the legendary lives of saints current during the middle ages. In his life, in the collection of lives of saints in the celebrated Vernon MS. in the Bodleian Library, he is thus described: I modernise the orthography and quote from Warton's History of English Poetry, Vol. i. p. 19. Edit. 1824:

"Four and twenty feet he was long, and thick and broad enow;

"Such a man, but he were strong, methinketh it were woe!"]

world in three fingers; he hath a wonderful hand which carrieth so many people out of Egypt; to be short, all his parts be high, large, and big, for he filleth heaven and earth, and he must have also the use of the same members; which is filthy to imagine in God.

"But was not man made after the similitude and likeness of God?" Yea, truly, but in soul, in mind, in the inward man, not touching his body. Wherefore Augustine, a man most expert in God's word, crieth out against the image of the Trinity, calling it *Sacrilegium*, a staining of God's honour, and an idol, because the glory of the immortal God is changed into the similitude and image of mortal man; forbidding such an image, not only in the church, but also in thought and mind¹. I suppose that the Anthropomorphites erected this image. When Philip desired Christ to shew him the Father, he rebuked him, and answered: "He that seeth me, seeth the Father;" for he is the only image of the Father, as Paul writeth; not a dumb image, for he is his Word; not a dead image, for he is life and resurrection; nor² counterfeit, for he is truth. God is a spirit, not flesh; a soul, not a body. The soul of man is said to be made *ad imaginem et similitudinem Dei*, "after the image of God," because it is a spiritual creature, invisible, incorruptible; not of the substance of God, as the Manichees and the Priscillianists do falsely defend, but made of nothing. For then it should know all things, as God knoweth, and be ignorant of nothing: it should be void of all affections, mutability, and inconstancy. There is in man's soul reason, discerning good from evil, truth from falsehood; there is memory, by the which he remembereth things past; there is will, by the which he

The image
of the
Father is
an idol.

John xiv.

Heb. i.

How man
was made
after the
image of
God.

Gen. i.
Priscilla-
nists.

[¹ Nec ideo tamen quasi humana forma circumscriptum esse Deum patrem arbitrandum est, ut de illo cogitantibus, dextrum aut sinistrum latus animo occurrat: aut idipsum, quod sedere Pater dicitur, flexis poplitibus fieri putandum est; ne in illud incidamus sacrilegium, in quo exsecratur apostolus eos qui commutaverunt gloriam incorruptibilis Dei in similitudinem corruptibilis hominis. Tale enim simulacrum Deo nefas est christiano in templo collocare; multo magis in corde nefarium est, ubi vere est templum Dei, si a terrena cupiditate atque errore munde-
tur." August. De Fide et Symbolo, Opera, vi. 157. Edit. Paris. 1679—1700.]

[² Nor, 1550; not, 1560.]

chooseth what him liketh. Besides this, our first parents were made without spot, void of sin, clean, righteous, holy, replenished with all flowers of virtues and knowledge. In ^{Gen. i.} these things man was formed after the likeness of God: in these we be like the angels: our body² we have common with the brute beasts; it was made of the mould of the earth, as Moses telleth, before there was any similitude, likeness, or image of God in man. St Paul also declareth this to be true, saying: "Be ye renewed in the spirit of ^{Eph. iv.} your minds, and put on that new man, which after the image of God is shapen in righteousness and true holiness;" and in another place: "Lie not one to another, after that ^{Col. iii.} ye have put off the old man with his works, and put on the new, which is renewed in knowledge after the image of him that made him."

These testimonies teach, that we lost the image of God by the fall of Adam, whereby our reason was blinded, our will wounded; and that we recover it again by Christ, who in this life amendeth reason by faith, and free will by charity, and in the life to come, with perfect vision of his glory. Hitherto it appeareth that God is a spiritual substance or nature, not of corporal shape ne form, as the Humaniformians would make us believe.

THE FOURTH CHAPTER.

God is a pure nature and immutable, and how he is otherwhiles angry, otherwhiles pleased, sometime asleep, sometime awake, sometime forgetful, standing, sitting, walking, &c.

God is also a pure nature, forsomuch as he is not mixt nor compound. For, when no composition can be without change, James affirmeth of God: "With whom ^{James i.} there is no variableness, neither is he changed, &c." He

[² Bodies, 1550 and 1560.]

Psal. cii. changeth all things as a vesture, but he himself is immutable, unchangeable.

How anger
is in God.

But some will say, "We read him oftentimes changed in his word. He is sometime angry, otherwhiles pleased, sometime awake, sometime asleep; sometime he forgetteth, sometime he remembereth; otherwhiles he sitteth, goeth,

Psal. ii.

he walketh, he standeth." (God is said to be angry, ("kiss the Son lest the Lord be angry,") when we break his commandments, despise his threatenings, set light by his promises, and follow our own corrupt appetites; and so we are changed, not he; we be mutable, he is immutable: as the clear sun to sore eyes is painful, to good and whole pleasant and comfortable, and yet the diversity is in the eyes, not in the light. He is said to be pacified, when we forsake our naughty living, returning unto him, as did the good Ninivites. "Who can tell," saith

Jonah¹ iii.

Joel ii.
Jer. xviii.

the king of the Ninivites, "whether God will turn, and repent, and pacify his wrath, and preserve us?"—where his repentance, pacifying, and turning, is all one thing. And he is said to laugh and scorn, as in the second Psalm:

How God
doth laugh.

Qui habitat in cœlis iridebit eos, et Dominus subsannabit eos. "He that dwelleth in heaven shall laugh them to scorn, the Lord shall have them in derision." And in another

Prov. iii.

place: "As for the scornful, he shall laugh them to scorn." God is not of such affection as man² is, to be moved with mockage and laughter; for he rejoiceth not in the hurt of man, but at his amendment: and it is written, *Abominatio Domini omnis illusor*, "God abhorreth scornful persons:" but as that man which laugheth at other men is farthest from a mind to help them, and to remedy their griefs, so is God to such as despise his commandments, set light by his threatenings, and are not moved with his promises: this is God's laughter and scorning. He is said to sleep, when Christ lay dead in his grave, whose death is

How he is
said to
sleep.

[Jer. xxxi.
26.]

called a sweet sleep of Hieremy; or else when he is slow to help his elect out of trouble, as in the psalm xliii.: "Arise, wherefore dost thou sleep, O Lord?" And contrariwise,

Psal. xliv.

To awake.

he is said to awake when he doth straightway, without any tarrying, succour them, help them, and deliver them. He

[¹ Jhon, 1550; Jonas, 1560.]

[² Man, 1550; a man, 1560.]

is said to forget us, when he taketh his mercy from us, Forget.
 forgetting³ his statutes, ordinances, and commandments;
 and to remember us, when we change, not he. Jesus Remember.
 Christ, that is God yesterday and to-day, continueth the
 same for ever. He sitteth not after human manner, but Sit.
 after another sort. To reign and to sit be one thing in
 God, and of one signification and meaning. "God reign- Psal. xlvii.
 eth over the heathen, God sitteth in his holy seat." He
 sitteth over cherubim, which is, by interpretation, fulness
 of knowledge, by which word "angels" be meant, and "the
 minds of good men," for in them God sitteth and reigneth,
 as Salomon testifieth: "The soul of the righteous is the Wisd. vii.
 seat of wisdom." And scripture also attributeth standing To stand.
 unto God for long-sufferance, wherewith he calleth us to re-
 pentance; who is said also to go, and to walk, not by chang- Go.
 ing of place, for he filleth all places, but by occupying the Walk.
 minds of the faithful, as in the prophet: "I will dwell Isai. lv.
 among them, and walk among them, and be their God," 2 Cor. vi.
 where dwelling, walking, and to be their God, mean one.

When these things be spoken of God, the change is to
 be understood in us, and not in him; as if you and I should
 drink both of one drink, and I should like it, and you
 mislike it, the diversity is not in the drink, but in us:
 even so God, after the⁴ divers conditions of men, is said
 to be pleased with one and discontented with another, to
 remember some and forget other: not that the very pas-
 sions of anger, of mercy, of remembrance, of forgetfulness,
 take place in him, in whom is no affection, no passion;
 but the scripture useth these speeches for our weak un-
 derstandings, feeding us with milk, because we are not able 1 Cor. iii.
 to digest stronger meat. As long as we be in this life,
 we must learn God⁵ of such terms; for our life is a sha-
 dow, our knowledge is imperfect, we see in a glass, in a
 dark speaking, with a corrupt eye. Nothing can be pro-
 perly spoken of God; for then he should not be unspeak-
 able. Who cannot see better in the clear light than in
 a shadow? without a glass than in it? We see in this life,
 as it were with a pair of spectacles; but when the spec-

[³ Forgetting, 1550; for forgetting, 1560.]

[⁴ The divers, 1550; divers, 1560.]

[⁵ God of, 1550; of God, 1560.]

tacles shall be taken away, we shall see clearly God face to face; who was never seen yet with bodily eyes. Then shadows, glasses, dark speeches, spectacles, milk, and the corrupt eye, shall be taken away, according to the voice of the trumpeter, "When that which is perfect cometh, that which is imperfect shall be done away."

THE FIFTH CHAPTER.

God is unsearchable.

THE scriptures teach him also to be ineffable in all tongues, unsearchable in thought, nothing can attain unto him; insomuch that Paul crieth out, "O the deepness of the righteousness, and wisdom, and knowledge of God! How unsearchable are his judgments, and his ways untraceable!" If his judgments surmount our capacities, much more he himself; and if Paul's, much more ours. Logic, the science of reason, discussing all doubts and controversies, confuting all men's wisdom, beholding the beams and brightness of God's glorious visage, faileth in searching what he is, and becometh foolishness. I speak not this, judging logic to be unprofitable to the reader of God's word; no, I think rather such as jangle against it to be void of all reason, forasmuch as they speak against the art of reason. Logic is an excellent gift of God, not to be despised, or discommended, lest we be unthankful unto God, but to be diligently learned and commended. Many clatter and prate that Peter and Paul never learnt logic, philosophy, and such dregs, which I deny: for Christ said, he would send them the Comforter, who should "teach them all things." If the Holy Ghost taught them "all things," he taught them also logic. There you have that the apostles learned logic. But you will reply, that the Holy Ghost taught them all things necessary for a preacher. Paul also de-

clareth that logic is necessary for a preacher, when he saith, that a bishop must be διδακτικός, that is, apt to teach. ^{1 Tim. iii.} Christ and his apostles, in their sermons, disputations, and letters, use all forms of arguments, all sorts of reasonings, all ways and means of invention¹, as I would prove if I thought it needful to stand in this matter. That which Paul writeth to the Colossians, *Videte ne quis*, &c. "Be- ^{Col. ii.} ware lest any man come and spoil you through philosophy and deceitful vanity," maketh for philosophy, not against it. For Paul there biddeth them take heed of such men that with their philosophy went about to hinder the gospel, to stop the prosperous success of God's word, abusing God's gift to the destruction of themselves and others; rebuking the ill conditions of men, and not dispraising the art; for he himself was a great philosopher. Now, if philosophy did set forth a false and untrue matter, that it confounded the faith of many, how much more is it able to set forth the truth?

THE SIXTH CHAPTER.

God is invisible, and how notwithstanding the faithful of the old testament saw him divers times.

BUT to return unto our matter: as he is unsearchable, so he is invisible, as Paul recordeth unto Timothy: "To ^{1 Tim. i.} the invisible God, and wise only, be honour and praise for ever and ever." There be some things invisible, which notwithstanding be subject to mutability, as man's thought, memory, will, and all spiritual creatures: and whatsoever also is visible, is also mutable. God is said only to be invisible, because he is void of all mutability. He saith unto Moses: "No man shall see me and live:" by John Bap- ^{Exod. xxxiii.} tist, "No man hath seen God at any time." If no man ^{John i.} hath seen God, how did the faithful of the old testament see him? The scripture saith, that the Lord spake unto

[¹ Invention, 1550; inventions, 1560.]

- Exod. xxxiii. Moses "face to face, as a man speaketh unto his friend:"
- 1 Kings¹ xxii. and Micheas affirmeth unto king Achab the wicked, "I saw the Lord sit on his seat, and all the company of heaven standing about him." Stephen also, the first martyr that
- Acts vii. we read of in the new testament, "looking up steadfastly with his eyes unto heaven, saw the glory of God, and Jesus
- How Moses, Micaiah, and Stephen saw God who is invisible. saw not God with his bodily eyes, who is a spirit, nor thou cannot gather any such thing of the text which saith that "God spake unto him face to face, as a man unto his friend," that is, "God talked familiarly with him;" not that he saw him in that place, albeit we read oftentimes that God appeared unto him and to all the Israelites, but not in his own nature and substance, but in his creatures',
- Exod. xxxiii. and visible forms: for Moses desireth God afterward, "If I have found favour in thy sight, shew me thyself manifestly;" wherefore he did not see him manifestly before, but only talked with him. And as for Micheas and Stephen,
- 2 Cor. xii. they saw God as Paul did, when he was carried up into the third heaven, with the eyes of their belief², of their mind, not of their body. As long as we continue in this life, we shall never see the divine and blessed nature, because our hearts be unclean: "Blessed be the pure in heart," saith Christ, "for they shall see God." This life is a warfare, and a purifying of our hearts by faith from sin. As long as the warfare endureth, there is no perfect victory of sin, for victory maketh an end of war: the victory of sin is the perfect vision of God's glory, which is gotten by faith, as John the beloved disciple testifieth³:
- Matt. v. "This is the victory that overcometh the world, even our faith. Who is he that overcometh the world, but he that believeth that Jesus is the Son of God?" Of these it appeareth, that God is a pure nature, unchangeable, unsearchable, invisible.
- 1 John v.

[¹ The reference in both editions is 3 Reg. xxxiii.]

[² Beleue, 1550; belefe, 1560.]

[³ Testifieth, 1550; testified, 1560.]

THE SEVENTH CHAPTER.

God is every where, and how Christ is in the sacrament.

HE is also every where by nature, not by grace, according to which he saith by Jeremy: "Heaven and earth Jer. xxiii. do I fill." For the heavens be his seat, and the earth is his footstool. This thing belongeth only unto God, and to no creature, neither spiritual nor corporal. A certain christian man, being demanded of a philosopher where God was, inquired of him, where he was not. Wherefore the Son and the Holy Ghost be no creatures; for of the Son it [is] said, "Wisdom reacheth from one end unto an- Wisd. viii. other mightily, and ordereth all things lovingly;" and of the Holy Comforter likewise, "The Spirit of the Lord Wisd. i. filleth the round compass of the world, and upholdeth all things." There is a great difference between man's soul and his body, but exceeding more difference between God and his creatures, who made both the soul and the body. He is not said to fulfil the world as the water, the air, the sun-light, which by division be in many places: he is in all places¹, without division, wholly, and contained in no place. But as a sound or noise is heard more of some and less of other some, being of equal distance from it, as they be of quick or dull hearing; so, albeit God be present with all things, yet he is in some more plentifully, in some less, not with partiality, but according to the diversity² of their capacities. If God be in all places, how is it true that wisdom doth not enter into a froward soul Wisd. i. ne dwell in a body subdued unto sin? Surely sin doth separate us from God; for what company hath light with darkness? What concord hath Christ with Belial? What 2 Cor. vi. fellowship hath truth with falsehood? I answer, God is said to dwell, to enter, where he favoureth, where he loveth; after which sort he is not in the wicked, but after another

[¹ Place, 1550; places, 1560.]

[² Diversity, 1550; diversities, 1560.]

John xiv.

sort he is in them: for where he is not by his favour and grace, he is by his righteousness; where he is not a benefactor, he is a punisher; where he is not a dweller, he is an avenger. But Christ saith, if a man love him, that his Father and he will come to him: if they will come to him, they were not with him before, and so God is not in all places. This text sheweth how all such things are to be understood in God. The words expound one another, which be these: "If a man love me, he will keep my word; and my Father also will love him, and we will come unto him, and dwell with him." Where the coming of God the Father, and dwelling, is the same that goeth immediately before, "my Father also will love him." These words be a good commentary to the other words before: we will come to him, we will dwell with him. Whereof it is manifest that all such phrases, dark speeches, and riddles, make nothing against the presence of God in all places, but rather fortify and establish it: we can go no whither from his Spirit, we can fly no where from his face: if we climb up unto heaven, he is there: if we go down unto hell, he is also there.

Psal.
cxxxix.Wickedness
coveiteth the
dark.God seeth
the wicked
everywhere.

We must not imagine him to be contained in place, and yet he is all thing in all. He is to all men as he findeth them: he is good in them that he findeth good, and ill to them that be ill: he is a helper in them that be good, and a punisher in them that be evil. If thou lookest for any succour, help, or aid, at God's hand, for-sake that is evil, and follow that is good. When thou stealest, or goest about advoutry [adultery], thou tarriest for the dark, thou lovest the night, because thy works be of darkness, lest thou shouldst be seen and shamed, lest thou shouldst be taken and hanged. Thou goest unto the king's highway, and takest a standing; thou goest to thy neighbour's house, and robbest him; thou ridest up to London to sue thy neighbour, to rob him of his right: call to remembrance that God is with thee everywhere: he is with thee going, he is with thee by the way, he is with thee when thou art doing thy devilish purpose: he standeth by and looketh on, writing thy fact as it were in a pair of tables, and at the last day he will make it known unto all men to thy utter confusion, shame, and condemnation.

If thou be afraid of men that destroy the body, fear him that hath power to throw both thy body and soul head-long into hell, into the lake that burneth with fire and brimstone, which is the second death. Thou mayest escape the punishment of man, but thou canst not escape God's hand, who punisheth more grievously than man. Whither wilt thou fly from God? Surely thou canst not fly from him, but by flying unto him: thou canst not escape his wrath, which is his righteousness, but by appealing unto his mercy. David compareth¹ God to a man that draweth a bow: the farther he draweth his shaft, which is his punishment, the greater is the stroke thereof.

Fear God
above all.

We cannot
escape
God's hand.

There is a great altercation now-a-days, whether God be in the sacrament or not: he must needs be there, for he is in all places. But whether is he there by his divinity, or humanity? Christ warneth us, that in the latter age there shall arise many false prophets, and *Pseudo-christs*, that is, false anointed, (which be the bishop of Rome's greased butchers and sacrificers,) which shall say, Lo, here is Christ, and there is Christ. These Pseudo-christs be not they of whom they speak afterward in the same chapters, "Many shall come in my name, saying, I am Christ," but another sort; for these shall not challenge this to themselves, but direct men² to other: and of these false anointed, that shall point us to other, he saith, *Nolite credere*, "Believe them not:" and therefore I dare not say that he is there after his humanity, lest I be a false prophet; for this is spoken of his humanity, not of his divinity. Touching his divinity, I say unto you, good people, Lo, here is Christ, and there is Christ; for it is here, there, in the town, in the city, in the chapel, in the church, and wilderness, and every where, as I have declared. The papists say, that this place maketh not against the presence of Christ's body upon earth, but against false prophets, which should preach in the last age false doctrine. True it is, Christ speaketh here against such: but what false doctrine shall they teach? Shall there come two at one time, in one age, of which false prophets shall say, "he is Christ," and another shall say, "no, this is Christ," pointing to some other? There were

Against the
corporal
presence.

Christ is not
in the sa-
crament
touching his
humanity.

Mark xiii.

Matt. xxiv.

An objec-
tion.

The answer.

[¹ Compareth, 1550; compared, 1560.]

[² Men, 1550; man, 1560.]

never yet two in one age, which both were said to be Christs of any false prophets, nor the scriptures do not mention or register any such thing to come; for the verity saith, that many such shall come. Now, we never read that many have reported and said, "here is Christ, and there," unless we take it to be spoken of the papists, which shew Christ unto us in many places at once, in every chapel, and on every altar. Many shall say of themselves that they are Christ; but these be other doctors. Compare their words together, and thou shalt find that I say true. The one text doth not expound the other, but they be two diverse prophecies of two diverse things. This false doctrine, then, is nothing else but to teach Christ's body after his ascension to be upon the earth, visibly or invisibly. Pighius, who calleth God's word "a nose of wax¹," wresteth this text to another purpose, taking Christ here for his church. "Lo, here is Christ, and there is Christ," saith Pighius, "that is, heretics shall say, here is the church, and there is the church²." O wise exposition! shall heretics say that Christ is here and there, touching his members and church? No, verily, this is no heresy: for Christ's church is in many places, in deserts and other. If Christ

Pighius's
interpreta-
tion.

Mark xiii.

Matt. xxiv.

[¹ Sed quoniam nullus scripturæ locus ita planus est aut apertus, qui ab hæreticorum, scripturas adulterantium, torquentium, et ad suum sensum depravantium, vi et injuria se prorsus vindicet. Sunt enim illæ (ut non minus vere, quam festive dixit quidam) velut nasus cereus, qui se horsum, illorsum, et in quam volueris partem, trahi, retrahi, fingique facile permittit: et tanquam plumbea quedam Lesbiæ ædificationis regula, quam non sit difficile accommodare ad quidvis volueris. Pighius, Hierarch. Eccles. Assertio, Lib. iii. cap. 3. fol. 80. Edit. 1538.]

[² Si quis dixerit tibi, Ecce hic est Christus, ecce illic, ecce 'apud nos est vera ecclesia Christi, vera proinde salus, quæ expectatur a Christo, nostræ sententiæ, nostræ fidei et doctrinæ consortibus; nolite, inquit, credere, nolite seduci, nolite exire ab illo corpore. Illius enim solius corporis caput, vita, et salus Christus est. Ego, inquit, vobiscum sum omnibus diebus, usque ad consummationem sæculi. Itaque ab illo corpore quisquis te seducere conatur in desertum Judaismum, in angulos domorum et penetrabilia, hoc est, in novas et singulares aliquas opiniones, a communi sensu illius corporis extraneas, et pugnantes cum doctrina catholicæ ecclesiæ, agnosce, juxta salvatoris nostri doctrinam, pseudopropheta ex operibus suis; agnosce lupum obiectum velleribus ovium, et cave credas, cave exeas. Pighius, Hierarch. Eccles. Assertio, Lib. i. cap. 5. fol. 16 b. Edit. 1538.]

must be taken for his church in this text, then we are compelled also to understand the church by him in the text which immediately followeth, where he saith, "Believe them not; Christ," that is, the church, "shall come as lightning:" we must take Christ for the same throughout the chapter. Read diligently; examine the circumstance which is chiefly to be regarded in the exposition of doubtful places; open the scripture with the key, not with the pick-lock; that is, expound it by itself, not by private interpretation; and thou shalt find that Christ there is taken for Christ, not for the church, as Pighius would strain the place, making of the scriptures "a nose of wax."

The key.
The pick-
lock.

You will ask me then, whether we receive Christ's body? Yea, truly, from heaven, from the right hand of the Father; not out of the bread, nor in the bread. For, unless we eat his flesh, and drink his blood, we shall not dwell in him; we shall not arise at the last day; we shall not have eternal life. Christ's humanity is the mean whereby we must obtain all things; the way by which we must climb up to heaven; the ladder that Jacob saw, going unto Mesopotamia, reaching up to heaven, with angels ascending and descending upon it. Christ teacheth this; using not only his word and commandment in raising the dead, as God, but also his flesh as a help and mean to the same. In raising the daughter of one of the chief of the synagogue, he took her by the hand and raised her. When he cured one full of the leprosy, he stretched out his hand and touched him. When he entered into the city of Naim, meeting a dead man carried out, the only son of a widow, having compassion on her, he touched the bier, and raised him from dead. There be infinite places of scripture which teach us, that Christ's flesh giveth life, delivereth from death, expelleth vice; but this is notable, forasmuch as this widow signifieth the church, and her dead son representeth mankind, dead through the sin of Adam. Christ is a vine, and we are the branches, as he witnesseth himself: *Ego sum vitis vera*, &c. "I am the true vine, and my Father is a husbandman," *et vos estis palmites*. The branches cannot live, unless they take nourishment of the substance of the vine and his^s juice: even so the soul of

We receive
Christ's
body from
heaven.

Matt. ix.

Matt. viii.

Luke vii.

John xv.

Christ is the
vine touch-
ing his flesh.

a christian man must needs be fed with the sweet flesh and comfortable blood of Jesus Christ. If we be branches, we be nourished of the vine. I would learn whether he be the vine after his humanity, or by his divinity. He is not the vine touching his divine nature; for the vine is not equal with the husbandman, but at his commandment. Christ, touching his divinity, is the husbandman, and equal with his Father. Mark, he is the vine therefore concerning that nature in which he is inferior to his Father, which is, his humanity. If then Christ be the vine, not by his divinity but by his humanity, and we the branches; then we must be refreshed of the vine, that is, of his humanity.

"I am the
vine," and,
"this [is]
my body,"
are diverse
phrases.

"This is my
body" ex-
pounded.

Luke xxii.
Matt. xxvi.
Mark xiv.

The sub-
stance of
bread re-
maineth.

This metaphor hath been abused to many evil purposes, as to prove Christ not to be God, because he is the vine: it hath been racked also to prove that these words, *Hoc est corpus meum*, "This is my body," is a like phrase, a like speech, as when Christ saith, *Ego sum vitis*, "I am the vine." They be no like phrases, but far different and diverse: for the vine is no sacrament, neither the door, nor the way, be no sacraments. The bread of which Christ said, "This is my body," is a sacrament, not a bare and naked metaphor; the rock was a sacrament; the brasen serpent was a sacrament; not metaphors only. When Christ said, "This is my body," he ordained a sacrament, that is, he gave the name of the thing to the sign; so that, notwithstanding, the matter, nature, and substance of the sign remaineth: unless this substance remain, the bread is no sacrament. For sacraments, saith St Augustine, are so called of the similitude of those things to which they be sacraments². Take away the matter, the sub-

[¹ Which, 1550; the which, 1560.]

[² Nonne semel immolatus est Christus in seipso, et tamen in sacramento non solum per omnes Paschæ solemnitates, sed omni die populis immolatur, nec utique mentitur, qui interrogatus eum responderit immolari? Si enim sacramenta quamdam similitudinem earum rerum, quarum sacramenta sunt, non haberent, omnino sacramenta non essent. Ex hac autem similitudine plerumque etiam ipsarum rerum nomina accipiunt. Sicut ergo secundum quemdam modum sacramentum corporis Christi corpus Christi est, sacramentum sanguinis Christi sanguis Christi est, ita sacramentum fidei fides est. Nihil est autem aliud credere, quam fidem habere. Ac per hoc cum respondetur parvulus credere,

stance, and nature of bread and wine; and there remaineth no more similitude.

Now all the fathers that were before Gregory do confess, and³ the scriptures do witness, that there must be three similitudes in this sacrament: a similitude of nourishing, a similitude of unity, and a similitude of conversion. The similitude of nourishing is this, that, as bread and wine do nourish our bodies⁴ and comfort our outward man, so the body and blood of Christ be the meat and food of our souls, and do comfort our inward man. And the similitude of unity is this, that, as the loaf of which we eat was made of many corns of wheat, by the liquor of water knoden into dough, and yet is but one loaf, and as the wine was made of the juice of divers grapes, and yet is but one cup of wine; so all they that eat Christ's body, and drink his blood, being many, are made one body and one flesh by the liquor of charity and love; the mystical body of our Saviour Christ, which is his church, not his natural body: for the bread is a sacrament not only of Christ's natural body, but also of the congregation and mystical body: and therefore Paul saith, that, albeit we be⁵ many, yet notwithstanding we are *Unus panis, unum corpus*, "one loaf and one body." What a loaf are we? Verily, even *Triticeus panis*, "a wheaten loaf," by the similitude of unity which I have declared. The similitude of conversion is this, that, as the bread and wine is turned into the substance of our bodies, so, by the receiving of Christ's body and blood, we are turned into the nature of them; we are changed and made bones of his bones, and flesh of his⁶ flesh. "He that eateth my flesh,"

Three similitudes in the sacrament.

Of nourishing.

Of unity.

1 Cor. x.

Of conversion.

qui fidei nondum habet affectum, respondetur fidem habere propter fidei sacramentum, et convertere se ad Deum propter conversionis sacramentum, quia et ipsa responsio ad celebrationem pertinet sacramenti. Sicut de ipso baptismo Apostolus, 'Consepulti,' inquit, 'sumus Christo per baptismum in mortem.' Non ait, sepulturam significavimus: sed prorsus ait, 'Consepulti sumus.' Sacramentum ergo tantæ rei nonnisi ejusdem rei vocabulo nuncupavit. Augustini Epist. ad Bonifacium, Opera, ii. 267. Edit. Paris. 1679—1700.]

[³ And, 1550; that, 1560.]

[⁴ Bodies, 1550; body, 1560.]

[⁵ We, 1550; be, 1560.]

[⁶ Of flesh, 1550; of his flesh, 1560.]

saith Christ, "and drinketh my blood, he abideth in me, and I in him;" that is to say, we be made one flesh and one blood, and the same nature that my flesh and my blood hath, the same getteth he that eateth me. These similitudes must be in the bread and wine, or else they be no sacraments. Now take away the substance, matter, and nature of them, and what similitude remaineth either of nourishing, or of unity, or of conversion? These similitudes be in the very substance and inward nature of bread and wine, not in the outward shew of accidents, which do neither nourish, neither are they changed, neither have any similitude of any unity.

Here percase, gentle reader, thou wilt demand of me, seeing I teach the substance of bread and wine to remain after the consecration, what I do answer to the doctors and fathers, which oftentimes do say that the nature and substance of bread and wine is altered, is turned into the body and blood of our Saviour Christ, as Cyprian¹, in his treatise which he writeth *De cœna Domini*, "of the Lord's supper," saith, *Panis non effigie sed natura mutatus*, "this bread is changed, not in the outward shew, but in the nature and substance;" and Ignatius saith the same, and Cyril, and Ambrose, and Jerome, and Augustine, and Chrysostom, whose doctrines we do follow, and we do allow and embrace them.

Cyprian de
cœna Do-
mini.

How the
doctors do
say that the
substance
of bread is
changed.

Be not deceived, good people; they are nothing against this doctrine, but the pillars and maintainers thereof, if their writings be truly understand: mark their² phrases, compare their sayings together one with another; and you shall find, that many do falsely slander them, and that they which boast and prate most of the doctors and old fathers,

[¹ *Panis iste quem Dominus discipulis porrigebat, non effigie sed natura mutatus, omnipotentia verbi factus est caro: et sicut in persona Christi humanitas videbatur, et latebat divinitas; ita sacramento visibili ineffabiliter divina se infudit essentia, ut esset religioni circa sacramenta devotio, et ad veritatem, cujus corpus et sanguis sacramenta sunt, sincerior pateret accessus, usque ad participationem spiritus; non quod usque ad consubstantialitatem Christi, sed usque ad societatem germanissimam ejus, hæc unitas pervenisset. Cypriani Opera, cxi. Ed. Parisiis, 1726. The treatise *De Cœna Domini* was formerly attributed, but erroneously, to Cyprian.]*

[² Ther, 1550; the, 1560.]

understand not the old fathers. So they say, that Eliseus 2 Kings vi. changed and altered the nature of iron, when he made it to swim above the water²; so they say, that Elias changed 1 Kings xviii. the nature of fire, when through his prayer it fell from heaven and consumed his sacrifice of wood, stones and dust. Ambrose de sacramentis. The nature of fire was changed, (no man can deny it,) at what time God appeared unto Moses out of a bush in a Exod. iii. flame; for the bush was not consumed. He commanded the fire not to hurt his faithful servants, Sidrach, Misak, Dan. iii. and Abednago, and preserved them harmless from the hot burning oven. There again nature was altered.

Elias and Eliseus did not turn, alter, or change the very substance and inward essence, or matter, either of iron or of the fire, into any other substance, or nature, but the natural property of them; making the iron which is heavy Substances for natural property. to hove above the waters, and causing the fire which is light to descend downward. Even so the doctors and old fathers, which we allow and follow, say, that the substance of bread and wine is changed, that is, the natural property of them; so that whereas before they were only the meat of the body, now, after the words rehearsed, they are the food of the soul also, for so much as they deliver unto us Christ's sweet flesh and comfortable blood: before it was common bread and wine, now it is holy and sanctified; before it was no sacrament, now it is a sacrament of the blessed body and honourable blood of our Saviour Jesus Christ.

But, for a more manifest proof that the old fathers believed the substance of bread to remain after the consecration, I will allege some of them. Irenæus. Irenæus¹ saith, that

[² Ceciderat ferrum securis in aquas, quasi ferrum sui consuetudine demersum est: misit lignum Eliseus, statim ferrum elevatum est, et aquis supernatavit: utique contra consuetudinem ferri; est enim materia gravior, quam aquarum est elementum. Ambrosius de Sacramentis, Opera, ii. 370. Edit. Paris. 1690.]

[⁴ Ὡς γὰρ ἀπὸ γῆς ἄρτος προλαμβάνοντες τὴν ἔκκλησιν τοῦ Θεοῦ, οὐκέτι κοινὸς ἄρτος ἐστίν, ἀλλ' εὐχαριστία, ἐκ ὧν πραγμάτων συνιστηκῆα, ἐπιγίων τε καὶ οὐρανίων οὕτως καὶ τὰ σώματα ἡμῶν μεταλαμβάνοντα τῆς εὐχαριστίας, μηκέτι εἶναι φθαρτά, τῆς ἐλπίδα τῆς εἰς αἰῶνα ἀναστάσεως ἔχοντα. Irenæus, adversus Hæreses, lib. iv. cap. 34. p. 327. Ed. Oxon. 1702.]

- every sacrament is made of two natures, of a heavenly nature, and of a terrenal or earthly nature. Now, take away the substance of bread, and what earthly nature or substance remaineth in this holy sacrament? The papists say, that the earthly nature is Christ's body, which he took of the earth when he was born of the blessed virgin
- An objection.
- The answer. Mary: for she was earth, and all men be earth. To this I answer, that Christ's body is earth in very deed, yet it is not the earthly and terrenal nature of this sacrament, which must have three similitudes, of unity, of nutrition, and of conversion, as is declared before, which similitudes cannot be in Christ's body. Moreover, hear what
- Origen. Origen¹ saith: *Panis sanctificatus vadit in ventrem*, "The sacramental bread entereth into the belly." Wherefore entereth it thither, but to nourish our bodies, to feed them, to be the meat of the flesh? Wherefore the substance thereof is not turned, not changed, not altered, but remaineth and continueth: for accidents do neither feed nor nourish. St Augustine² also subscribeth unto them, saying, *Accedat verbum elemento, et fit sacramentum*: he saith not *succedat*, but *accedat*, which is this much to say: "Let the word be added to the element, and then it is made a sacrament." Thus it is evident that the bread and wine,

[¹ Πάν τὸ εἰσπορευόμενον εἰς τὸ στόμα εἰς κοιλίαν χωρεῖ, καὶ εἰς ἀφεδρώνα ἐκβάλλεται· καὶ τὸ ἀγιαζόμενον βρώμα διὰ λόγον Θεοῦ καὶ ἐντεύξεως, κατ' αὐτὸ μὲν τὸ ὑλικόν, εἰς τὴν κοιλίαν χωρεῖ, καὶ εἰς ἀφεδρώνα ἐκβάλλεται· κατὰ δὲ τὴν ἐπιγινωμένην αὐτῷ εὐχὴν, κατὰ τὴν ἀναλογίαν τῆς πίστεως ὠφέλιμον γίνεται, καὶ τῆς τοῦ νοῦ αἰτίου διαβλέψεως, ὁρώντος ἐπὶ τὸ ὠφελοῦν, καὶ οὐχ ἡ ὕλη τοῦ ἄρτου, ἀλλ' ὁ ἐπ' αὐτῷ εἰρημένος λόγος ἐστὶν ὁ ὠφελῶν τὸν μὴ ἀναξίως τοῦ κυρίου ἐσθίοντα αὐτόν. Origen. in Matth. Comment. Opera, iii. 499. Edit. Paris. 1733.]

[² Quare non ait, Mundi estis propter baptismum quo loti estis, sed ait, 'Propter verbum quod locutus sum vobis,' nisi quia et in aqua verbum mundat? Detrahe verbum, et quid est aqua nisi aqua? Accedit verbum ad elementum, et fit sacramentum, etiam ipsum tamquam visibile verbum. Nam et hoc utique dixerat, quando pedes discipulis lavit, 'Qui lotus est, non indiget nisi ut pedes lavet, sed est mundus totus.' Unde ista tanta virtus aquæ, ut corpus tangat et cor abluat, nisi faciente verbo; non quia dicitur, sed quia creditur? Nam et in ipso verbo aliud est sonus transiens, aliud virtus manens. Augustin. in Johan. Evang. Opera, iii. 703. Edit. Paris. 1679—1700.]

which is the element, remaineth, and is not transubstantiate, both by authentical scriptures, which do allow three similitudes, and also by the consent of all the doctors and elder fathers: for out of doubt Athanasius, Basil, Nazianzen, Jeromè, Chrysostom, and other, both Latinists and Greeks, do not disagree with these. Moreover, the rock was a sacrament of Christ's blood, and yet not transubstantiate. They and we drink one spiritual drink, as Paul recordeth. Likewise manna was a sacrament of his body, without any such mutation. You will ask me then, whether our sacraments be better than the sacraments of the old testament? Yea truly, but not of their own nature, but through the grace of God, through the fulness of time, because in this testament the face of Christ is more clearly discovered and known, and not through any transubstantiation. These be the days which the patriarchs and prophets desired to come, the days of salvation, and the acceptable time.

1 Cor. x.

How our sacraments are better than the sacraments of the old testament.

I have opened the true meaning of Christ's words, "This is my body;" and declared the necessity, the use, the fruit, the mary and sweetness of the holy communion, which fruit is incomparable. For if all they which did but touch the hem of Christ's garment, received their perfect health, how much more shall we be made strong and comforted, if we have Christ in us! This holy communion giveth life, destroyeth death, quickeneth our bodies, lighteneth our souls, banisheth sin, and increaseth virtue. For as a little wax poured upon other wax is made all one with it, even so they that receive this sacrament worthily abide in Christ, and Christ in them. A little leaven soureth a whole batch; but the seldom receiving of this sacrament, if (I say) it be received worthily, bringeth remission of sins, purgeth our souls, maketh clean our hearts, amendeth our understandings: but the oftener, the better. All you that approach unto this table, and desire to be branches of the vine, and to be sealed into the fellowship of the congregation, forsake your sinful living, intend to lead a new conversation from the bottom of your hearts, purge out the old leaven, and become new dough, bury all affections and live unto virtue: otherwise ye neither eat Christ's flesh, nor drink his blood. He that eateth Christ's flesh hath eter-

Matt. ix.

Evil men do not receive Christ's body.

John vi.

The first
reason.

nal life. "Yea, marry," saith the papists, "if he eat it *digne*, worthily," adding unto the text, or else making it false, "but he may receive it unworthily, as Judas did." Examine this exposition with the touchstone, open the scripture with the key, not with the picklock; and thou shalt find, that Christ's flesh is not received unworthily: in all the scriptures this word *indigne*, "unworthily," is but once read concerning this sacrament; and there, mark, the bread and the wine is said to be received unworthily, not Christ's most comfortable flesh and blood. *Quicumque manducaverit panem hunc, etc.* "He that eateth of this bread, and drinketh of this cup," saith Paul, "unworthily, he shall be guilty of the body and blood of Christ." Lo, he saith, "He that eateth of this bread unworthily, and drinketh of this cup," not of the body and blood of Christ, which always be received unto health.

The second
reason.

1 Cor. xi.

Choose now, gentle reader, whether thou wilt believe the papists, which teach that Christ's flesh is received of evil men unworthily, or Paul, which saith, "He that eateth of this bread," that is, not common bread, not daily bread, but sacramental bread, that is meant by the word, "this." If they can shew in any place of scripture, where this word "unworthily" is joined with the body of Christ, as I have shewed where it is coupled with bread, I will be of their opinion. Christ's flesh is meat, according to his own saying, *Caro mea vere est cibus*, &c. "My flesh is very meat and my blood is very drink." Now meat doth hurt, where it findeth a belly corrupt with naughty humours. Even so this spiritual food, if it find a man defiled with sin, increaseth his damnation, bringeth him unto destruction, not of the nature of it, but through the default of him that receiveth it. Yea, if we be defiled with corrupt humours, we be no partakers of these dainties.

The third
reason.
John vi.

An objec-
tion answer-
ed.

But peradventure the papists will reply, If it be meat, then is it received both of good and evil men; for neither of both sorts can live without meat. To this I answer, it is the meat of the soul, not of the body; the food of the spirit, not of the flesh; and therefore it is not received of evil persons, because the meat is good, and they be evil. So that this is a strong argument: Christ's flesh and blood is meat; ergo it is not received of evil men.

Moreover, Christ's flesh and blood is the vine, as I have proved before, and we be the branches. The fourth reason.

Only the branches be fed of the vine :

A syllogism.

Evil men be not branches of the vine :

Ergo, evil men be not partakers of the vine, which is Christ's flesh and blood.

Therefore let no Judas, no Simon Magus, no man with a cloked mind, think that he is fed with these dainties. If it were not lawful for the uncircumcised in flesh to eat the figurative paschal lamb, how much more is it unlawful for the uncircumcised and unclean in heart to taste of these dainties ! " If he that despised Moses' law was condemned, without any mercy, unto death under two or three witnesses, how more grievously shall he be punished, which treadeth under foot the Son of God, and counteth the blood of the new testament as an unholy thing, wherewith he is sanctified ! " Purge out the old leaven, or else thou mayest not, nor thou canst not, eat this sweet bread. Paul testifieth, that many among the Corinthians, for the abusing of this sacrament, were punished with weakness, with sickness, yea, and many stricken with death ; the which he wrote for our instruction. Against the coming of our friend we make clean our houses, and look diligently that all things be trim : and are we negligent in purifying of our minds against the coming of the great King, who hath promised to dwell with us after the receiving of this holy meat ? I would wish that men would give thanks more customably, immediately after the receiving thereof, unto God, for the redemption of mankind, and for all his benefits, saying¹ the hundredth psalm, " O be joyful in the Lord, all ye lands, serve the Lord in gladness, and come before his presence with a song ; " and the psalm that beginneth, " O come, let us sing unto the Lord, let us heartily rejoice in the strength of our salvation ; let us come before his presence with thanksgiving : " with the hundred and third psalm, " Praise the Lord, O my soul. " For who cometh to the table of any man, and departeth without any thanksgiving ? It is called also a sacrament of thanksgiving. I would men would as diligently dispose themselves to receive this sacrament, as

Thanks ought to be given for the death of Christ.

Psal. xcvi.²

[¹ Saying, 1550 ; singing, 1560.]

[² This reference is not in the margin of the edition of 1550.]

they do eftsoons delight to talk of it: if they would prepare themselves to receive it more oft, the Holy Ghost would instruct them and become their schoolmaster; for wisdom entereth not unto a soul subdued into sin.

The sacramental receiving is necessary.

But I hear some say, I will not come to receive the sacrament, for I can, and do, receive the body and blood of Christ at home, in the field, and in the church, yea, everywhere, without the sacrament, believing upon his passion. Truly, if thou be godly-minded, and do call his death for thee¹ to remembrance, trusting to have pardon of thy sins by the effusion of his blood, thou dost eat his body and drink his blood. But thou art not godly-minded, but carnal, the servant of sin, if thou despise the ordinance of God, and his commandment, who biddeth thee take and eat: and carnal and ungodly men do not receive the body of Christ, but the spiritual and godly.

The absolution of the minister.

Thou mayest say likewise, I will not come at the minister for remission of my sins, and for absolution, for God is not bound to his sacraments, he pardoneth without the ceremony of ministration, as he² did the thief, Mary Magdalene, and other. Sure it is, God forgiveth thy sins before thou come to the priest, if thou have earnest repentance and true intent of amendment; for he saith, *In quacumque hora, &c.* "In what hour soever the unrighteous man doth repent, &c." and yet nevertheless he himself commandeth thee to come to them, for he hath given them authority to loose and to bind, and to bless and curse. Now, what their loosing, blessing, and absolution is, shall be declared hereafter, in the seventeenth chapter. So, albeit Christ's body be received in faith without the sacrament, yet thou must come unto the sacrament, because thou art commanded, or else thou art an evil man.

It is not enough to receive it spiritually, we must receive it also sacramentally; yea, he that will not receive it sacramentally, neither doth he, neither can he, receive it in faith spiritually: for I have proved before that evil men do not eat these dainties.

[¹ Death for the to, 1550; death to, 1560.]

[² He as, 1550; as he, 1560.]

THE EIGHTH CHAPTER.

God is full of understanding.

GOD is also full of understanding. If any man lack wisdom, James biddeth him "ask it of God, which giveth James i. to all men indifferently, and casteth no man in the teeth; and it shall be given him, if he ask it without wavering, without mistrust." David, asking with a sure faith, obtained his request; in so much that he had more understanding than all his teachers, and was wiser than the aged; but what followeth? "for because I keep thy command- Psal. cxix. ments." Thou askest not in faith, without keeping of God's commandments. *Ostende mihi fidem tuam ex operibus*, "shew me thy faith," saith James, "of thy works." Keep them, Psal. xcix. and he will give thee understanding. His testimonies are Psal. xix. a lantern, and give light even unto the babes. He gave Salomon an understanding heart to judge his people, and 1 Kings iii. to discern between good and bad; so that there was none like him, neither afore nor after: he gave him also honour and riches, and long life; which be his gifts. He Luke xxiv. opened the minds of his disciples, that they might understand the scriptures. He took Paul up into the third hea- 2 Cor. xii. ven, and taught him things which cannot be uttered. He filled Besaliel and Ahaliab with the Spirit of God, with Exod. xxxi. wisdom, understanding, and knowledge, to find out curious works, to work in gold and silver and brass, to carve in wood, to grave in stone, to make the tabernacle of witness, the ark, the mercy seat, the table, the pure candlesticks, the altar of incense, vestiments to minister in, and the holy garments for Aaron the priest. Wherefore he himself must needs be full of all wisdom and all understanding. But these things, as they were commanded to them of the old law, so we of the new law are not bound to them, because we have no commandment; for, as Paul writeth Heb. xiii. unto his nation, "we have an altar, whereof they may not eat which serve in the tabernacle." The priesthood of the

Levites, their sacrifices, and their laws, be disannulled. Christ's everlasting priesthood hath made an end of all the Levites' priesthood; yea, and of all other priesthood, save only that which belongeth to all christian men. The oblation of his body once for all upon the altar of the cross, which was a slain sacrifice for our sins, abolisheth all other; and the law of his gospel hath blotted out the law of the carnal commandment.

Malachi
maketh
nothing for
the sacrifice
of the mass
or popish
priesthood.

Pighius's
argument.

But our Romans allege the prophet Malachy for the defence of the sacrifice of their mass, and for their popish priesthood; by whom God saith: "I have no pleasure in you; and as for an offering, I will not accept it at your hands. For from the rising of the sun unto the going down of the same, my name is great amongst the gentiles; yea, in every place shall there sacrifice be done, and a clean offering offered up in my name." Albertus Pighius¹, one of the bishop of Rome's chief knights, laboureth to prove that this text is meant of the oblation of the mass; whose reasons be these: first, that it cannot be taken for the oblation of Christ's body on the cross, for God promised

[¹ Audis primum denunciari veteris illius, quod secundum ordinem Aaron erat, sacerdotii abolitionem, succedente novo (de quo apostolus) secundum ordinem Melchisedec. Non est, inquit, mihi voluntas perpetua in vobis, vobis, inquam, Aaroniticis sacerdotibus, nec ultra suscipiam munus aut sacrificia de manibus vestris. Quid ita? Quoniam non tantum in uno hoc populo Israël, cui serviebat illud vetus sacerdotium, sed in omnibus gentibus, ab ortu solis usque ad occasum, magnum erit nomen meum. Neque ex una hac familia Aaron, sed ex omnibus gentibus novos mihi sacerdotes deligam, novo ordine, abrogato veteri. Nec vetera illa vobis constituta et in uno loco offerenda sacrificia amplius de manu vestra suscipiam: sed in omni orbis loco sacrificabitur, et offeretur nomini meo oblatio munda: propheta enim de futuro, ob certitudinem, ut solent, in presenti loquitur: non sacrificia multa, sed una et sola munda oblatio. Quid enim, ut Augustini verbis dicam, tam mundum pro mundanis vitiis mortalium, quam sine ulla contagione carnalis concupiscentiæ caro nata in utero et ex utero virginali? Et quid tam gratè offerri et suscipi posset, quam caro sacrificii nostri, corpus effectum sacerdotis nostri? Nullam imaginari est oblationem mundam aliam, quæ per ecclesiam offertur in omni orbis loco, quam in eucharistiæ sacramento caro et sanguis agni immaculati. Nam jejunia, eleemosynæ, orationes, sacrificium cordis contriti, breviter universæ justitiæ nostræ, sunt veluti pannus menstruatus. Pighius, Hierarch. Eccles. Assertio, Lib. II. cap. 5. fol. 54. Edit. 1538.]

here such a sacrifice that should be offered in all places, and of the heathen; that was offered in one place, in Jewry only, and of the Jews. Moreover, it cannot be such a sacrifice as David commended; that a troubled spirit, a Psalm. li. broken and a contrite heart, is a sacrifice unto God; for the prophet speaketh here of a clean sacrifice unto God: all that we offer unto God, is spotted, unclean and defiled, as the clothes stained with the flowers of a woman. The Isaiah. liiv. prophet also speaketh of a new sacrifice, that was not before, but should be used among the heathen, and offered only of the priests; but we have the sacrifice that David praiseth, common with them of the old law, and it is to be offered of all christian men and women: wherefore it must needs be spoken of the mass.

This is Pighius's reason, yea, the principal argument of The answer. all the papists; unto which, I beseech you hear patiently my answer. I intend to write a commentary to Malachy, but I will take it out of God's word, and I will open scripture with the key. I defend, that Malachy meaneth none other sacrifice, than an oblation of a pure and contrite heart; and I prove it thus: first, Malachy speaketh of The sacrifice of thanks is offered in all places. A clean sacrifice. such a sacrifice as shall be offered in all places unto God; as, undoubtedly, this hath been, and shall be to the world's end. He speaketh also of a clean sacrifice. Is not the oblation of a contrite heart a clean sacrifice? Yea, truly; or else it were not to be offered up unto God, to whom no unclean thing is to be presented. Paul, speaking of this sacrifice, calleth it a holy and an acceptable sacrifice, saying, "I beseech you, therefore, brethren, by the mercies Rom. xii. of God, that you make your bodies a quick sacrifice, holy and acceptable unto God," &c. He meaneth not, that we should kill our bodies, slay ourselves; but kill all our carnal lusts, unlawful desires, evil affections in the body; which is a sacrifice of a contrite and humble heart. And whereas Pighius affirmeth against this, that our hearts be unclean, I deny it not: but, nevertheless, God accepteth them as clean, and calleth them so in his word, as by David, saying, "Make me a clean heart, and renew a Psalm. li. right spirit within me;" and by Christ, "Blessed be the Matt. v. pure in heart, or clean-hearted, for they shall see God." We read in the Acts, when Peter was a-hungred at Cor- Acts xi.

nelius's house, that the heavens opened, and certain vessels came down to him, as it had been a great sheet knit at four corners, wherein were all manner of four-footed beasts, and that he was bidden to arise and kill: but he would not, saying he did never eat no unclean things: but he was answered, and commanded, not to esteem any thing unclean which God hath cleansed. Even so I say unto Pighius, that seeing Paul, David, and Christ, call it a clean sacrifice, and that God hath purified our hearts, it becometh not him to name it otherwise. For a good man, a good tree, out of the good treasure of his heart bringeth out good fruit.

Matt. vii.

A new sacrifice.
2 Cor. v.

John xiii.

1 John ii.

But the papists say, that this is no new sacrifice. I affirm that it is; for as much as God saith, "Behold I make all things new." If all things be new, then this is a new sacrifice, albeit we have it common with the fathers of the old testament. The scripture useth to call things new, when they be commanded anew; as Christ, commanding his disciples to love one another, before his passion, saith, "I give you a new commandment that ye love one another;" and John likewise, "Again, a new commandment I write to you." Not that these commandments were not mentioned before; but that they were so necessary, that it pleased God to renew them again. In which signification, the oblation of a contrite heart may also be called a new sacrifice, and that after the phrase of the holy scripture, although Pighius spurn against it; who, not knowing, or not remembering, this acception of newness, doth falsely affirm, that the sacrifice that Malachy entreateth, only appertaineth unto priests. I trust I have sufficiently declared, by the testimonies of God's word, that a contrite heart is that clean and new sacrifice offered in all places, of which Malachy speaketh.

The first reason.

Heb. ix.

That the Lord's supper, which men call the mass, is not a sacrifice for sin, St Paul declareth plainly, saying: *Sine sanguinis effusione, &c.* "that without shedding of blood no sacrifice can blot out sin." If Christ be sacrificed or offered in his supper, for the expiation of sin, his precious and most comfortable blood is shed again, is poured forth again; "for without bloodshed is no remission." It must be a bloody sacrifice, not a dry sacrifice, for which sin is par-

doned. "Christ, (saith Paul,) by his own blood entered once for all into the holy place, and found eternal redemption:" so that all sin, both that is past, and that which is to come, in the chosen, is and shall be pardoned by his eternal sacrifice, which was offered once for all on the cross. And sin being forgiven, as the apostle telleth, by the virtue of it, "there remaineth no more sacrifice for sin," but only a commemoration and a memorial. For the love of God, and of our own souls, let us keep and use this sacrament and other in the church, as Christ the author of all sacraments commandeth. He mentioneth no such use, or rather abuse and profanation. That is a sacrament, in which God certifieth us, by some outward and sensible sign, that he giveth unto us somewhat: as, for an example, in baptism there is water, which preacheth unto us remission of sins by Christ's blood. Now a sacrifice is another thing; for in a sacrifice we give, dedicate, and present some thing unto him. Wherefore the supper of the Lord is no sacrifice for sin, forasmuch as it is a sacrament. Mark this difference, brethren, and be no longer deceived. The parable of the thieves teacheth us, that Christ's coming hath disannulled all such priesthood as is called *sacerdotium*; but *presbyterium* remaineth. The priests and Levites pass by, and leave the wounded man, which was robbed going from Hierusalem to Jericho, unholpen, unprovided for. Is not he succoured only of the Samaritan? The wounded man signifieth all mankind, who descended from Hierusalem to Jericho, when he was expelled out of paradise into this miserable world. For Hierusalem is as much to say as, *visio pacis*, or, *visio perfecta*, "a peaceable vision of God," which man had in paradise. The thieves that robbed and wounded him were the devils, that enticed him to eat² of concupiscence, and robbed him of his understanding, of free will, of dominion and lordship over all creatures, of the image of God after which he was made; and made him after the image of the devil himself. The priests, the Levites, were not able to help him, but only the Samaritan; that is, Christ healeth him, and restored him to the image of God again. Read over the four, five, seven, nine, and ten, to the Hebrews, and thou shalt find, that the mark that St Paul

The second
reason.
Heb. x.

The third
reason.

No sacra-
ment is a
sacrifice.

The fourth
reason.

Luke x.
The
wounded
man.

Jerusalem.

Thieves.

The fifth
reason.

[² Eat of the tree of concupiscence, 1560.]

shooteth at in these chapters is only to fortify, that all such outward priesthood is taken away.

The sixth
reason.

Ministers
have no
sacrifice but
common
with the
laity.

Three
orders of
ministers
only.

Seven
orders.

Moreover, mark what I say unto thee. Read over all the new testament, and thou shalt not find once this word, *sacerdos*, "priest," applied or spoken of any one sort of ministers (as the common sort do use it), but when it is referred to the Pharisees, and to such as do appertain without all doubt to the old testament. It is referred always to all christian people, which all be *sacerdotes* through Christ: and ministers have no manner of sacrifice, but common with the laity, both men and women; that is to say, the sacrifice of thanksgiving, and the quick and lively oblation of their own bodies. The new testament requireth no other sacrifice. I do not mean, that every man, or woman, may christen, marry, purify women, may loose and bind consciences, may distribute the holy sacrament: but I mean, that popish and outward priesthood is crept into the church of God against the word of God; and I do believe and confess no mo orders of ministers but three, that is, deacons, and presbyters, and bishops. These three the scriptures alloweth, and shewed the manner of their creation, and declareth their offices and duties. There be no ministrations, I will not deny; but they may be reduced all to these three. The papists make seven orders; ostiaries or porters, readers, acolites, exorcists, subdeacons, deacons, and priests; but neither of the names of five of them, nor that which is meant by the names, nor their creation, nor their offices, be expressed in the scriptures. And if I would recite the offices that they themselves assign, and their form of creation, I think mo would laugh at them than allow them. Some of the doctors write, that there were some so called in the church at their days; but that their offices were such as they describe, they cannot shew out of any doctor. They have kept the names, and changed the duties and offices, and have appointed them other duties; as it is plain, namely, in the office of a deacon; and so they do not only rack the scriptures, but also deprave and corrupt the doctors, to maintain their dreams and fantasies; and by the name of antiquity and fathers they lead us from our Father in heaven.

THE NINTH CHAPTER.

God is truth : and, whether it be lawful or honest to lie for any consideration.

God is also full of truth and mercy ; of whom David witnesseth, that all his ways, or paths, are mercy and truth. Psal. xxv. He destroyeth all those that forge lies, and delighteth in Psal. v. such as be true, for he is truth itself. John xiv. Salomon, among Prov. vi. seven things which God hateth, reckoneth lying twice, as that which God most abhorreth ; affirming also in another place, that a false witness and lying lips shall not escape Prov. xix. punishment. There be that think it lawful to lie ; as the merchantman, to sell his wares with more advantage ; and Merchant- the Priscillianists, who held this opinion, that for a greater man. advantage lying is not forbidden : to cover their covetousness, and to excuse their daily lying, they make three sorts of lies, *jocosum*, *perniciosum*, *officiosum*, “ jesting lies,” “ pernicious,” and “ officious ;” of the which they say two kinds to be lawful, honest, and commendable, bringing these examples : Nasica, when he came to Ennius the poet's house Nasica. to speak with him, Ennius, having earnest business, com- Ennius. manded his maid to meet him at the door, and to say that [Cicero de Oratore, lib. ii. c. 68.] he was not within : who, knowing that her master had bidden her to say so because of his business, departed. Soon after, it fortun'd that Ennius came to his house, and, knocking at the door, inquired for him. Nasica, hearing one knock, and perceiving out of a window that it was Ennius, answered with a loud voice, that he was not at home. But Ennius knew his voice, and came in. Then Nasica came unto him, and said, You are impudent ; for I believed your maid that you were not at home, and will not you believe me myself ? In this example be two lies ; one of Ennius's maid, at her master's commandment ; the other of Nasica, in the way of jest and mirth ; which both be defended to be honest. But I tell you all lying is forbidden.

Sara also is alleged ; who, when she had laughed, denied Sarah. it to three men which came unto Abraham : and he likewise Gen. xviii.

Abraham.
Gen. xii.
Gen. xx.
Jacob.
Gen. xxvii.

The mid-
wives.
Exod. i.

Acts v.
Rahab.
Josh. ii.
Josh. vi.
Heb. xi.

King Jehu.
2 Kings x.

Luke xxiv.

Acts xxii.
Acts xxiii.

is brought in, for calling his wife his sister. And Jacob, the patriarch, through the subtlety of lying, stole away his father's blessing, and the title of inheritance, from his elder brother, Esau, at the counsel of his mother Rebecca. The scripture recordeth also, that God dealt well with the midwives of Egypt, and made them houses, because with a lie they hindered the devilish intent of cruel king Pharaoh, and preserved the babes of the Hebrews from death. How is it true then, that he destroyeth all lying lips? Ananias and Sapphira his wife are slain for lying; but Rahab the harlot is rewarded, and numbered of St Paul among the faithful, because she by lying saved the messengers or spies of the Israelites from the pursuers of the king of Jericho. Jehu, the king of Israel, saying he had a great sacrifice to do unto Baal, gathering his priests from all the coasts of Israel into one temple, murdered them all through his lie, and is not reproved for the same. Wherefore all lying is not forbidden. We read of Christ himself, how he feigned that he would go further than the town of Emaus; and the elect vessel, St Paul, is not abashed to say he was a citizen of Rome, and born free.

With these examples lying is maintained, deceit and falsehood allowed, and named policy and prudence. But I say unto you, ye abuse God's word, ye rack it, ye make it a nose of wax, ye open it not with the right key, but with a picklock. Name not subtlety policy, nor lying jest, or duty. All crafty scoffing, all profitable lying, is damnable.

You bring, for the defence of your leasings, Nasica, Sara, Abraham, Jacob, the midwives of Egypt, Rahab, Jehu, Paul, and Christ. As for Nasica, his saying was a jest, a merry conceit, and no lie. Jests and merry conceits be no lies, forasmuch as they be uttered not to harm, noy, or hinder any man, but for mirth sake. A man may affirm that which is false, and yet make no lie: for to lie is to affirm an untruth with a mind to hurt, endamage, and deceive, some man thereby.

Abraham
lied not.
Gen. xx.

Abraham said not to Abimilech, "She is not my wife," but, "She is my sister:" the¹ which was true, for she was his sister by his father, but not by his mother; the daughter of Aran his brother, and consequently of his father; foras-

[¹ The which, 1550; which, 1560.]

much as *fili filiorum dicuntur etiam filii avorum*, "the sons, or daughters, are called also the sons and daughters of the grandfathers²." And so she was Abraham's sister, because she was his father's daughter; and she was his father's daughter, because she was his brother's daughter. Wherefore he spake nothing that was false, but he kept that close which was true; saying she was his sister, and not confessing her his wife: the which thing also his son Isaac Gen. xxvi. did afterward. But this was no lying, to hide the truth, but to affirm that which is false. And otherwise, Sara lied indeed, and her example is in that point to be eschewed; for many things are written which are not to be followed.

The story of Jacob is no lie, but a mystery; and the The saying of Jacob is no lie, but a mystery. Gen. xxvii. mystery proved true afterward. When his father asked him, "Who art thou, son?" he answered, "I am Esau, thy eldest son:" whereby nothing else is meant and signified, than that which Christ saith, "Ye shall see Abraham, Luke xiii. and Isaac, and Jacob, and all the prophets, in the kingdom of God, and yourselves thrust out. And they shall come from the east, and west, and north, and south, and sit in the kingdom of God. And, behold, they be last which shall be first; and they be first which shall be last." This thing now is come to pass; for we are "his people, which Rom. ix. were not his people, and his beloved, which were not beloved." St Paul nameth this a mystery: "I would not this Rom. xi. mystery should be hidden from you, brethren, lest ye should be wise in your own conceits; forasmuch as blindness is partly happened in Israel, till the fulness of the gentiles be come in." Of these places it appeareth, that Jacob's saying, "I am Esau, thy eldest son," is as much to say as, "The last shall be first, and the first last;" which is a true saying and no lie, because it is a mystery. For if we count mysteries to be lies, we must count likewise all parables and metaphors, all tropes and figures, to be no less; in which the meaning is to be considered, and not the proper signification of the word. Christ is called a lion, a rock, a Rev. v. 1 Cor. x. John x. Matt. xiii. John xv. Luke xxii. Jer. xxiii. Psal. cxliv. Psal. xxxix. door, a lamb. The children of the kingdom are called good seed; and the wicked, tares. The father of heaven is named a husbandman; and God's word a sword, a hammer, a key. Man's life is called a span, a shadow, &c.

[² Grandfather, 1550; grandfathers, 1560.]

These manner of speeches be no lies, but plain demonstrations of hard matters, in easy and common terms. We be taught by the lion, rock, and door, which we know, what Christ is, whom we know not; and by the husbandman, we learn what God the Father is; by the sword, the hammer, the strength of God's word; by the key, how it is to be expounded; by the span, the shadow, the shortness of man's life: which be fruitful matters. In semblable manner, in this story we learn of Esau the blindness of the Jews; and of Jacob, the younger, the fulness of the gentiles.

Now, to speak of the midwives of Egypt and of Rahab: God did not reward them for their lie, but for their mercy, because they dealt kindly with his people; for which also he forgave them their lie, wherein they sinned undoubtedly grievously: for the mouth which lieth killeth the soul. If those midwives had been perfect women, they would have refused that office whereunto Pharaoh appointed them; for it was to murder the infants of the Israelites. And Rahab had done better, if she had not lied, but answered, "I know where they be, but, because I fear God, I will never shew it." They could have lost nothing by this answer, although they had suffered death therefore. For "blessed be the dead that die in the Lord." By the other way they gat them houses upon the earth; but this way they might have purchased that house, of which it is written: "Blessed be they which dwell in thy house, they shall praise thee evermore." Stories make mention of one Firmius, bishop of Tagasta, who, making this answer in such a case, lost nought thereby. When the emperor sent his officers to search after a certain man whom he had hidden, he, being inquired for him, said, he would not deny but that he had hidden him, because of lying; but that he would never betray him. For which answer he was grievously pained: but no pain could cause him to disclose where the man was. The emperor, marvelling at his steadfastness, delivered him.

Exod. i.

Josh. ii. vi.

Bishop Firmius.
[Augustin. De Mendacio, lib. i. c. 23. Opera vi. 434. Edit. Paris. 1679-1700.]

2 Kings x.

Jehu in his lying is no more to be followed, than in the sin of Jeroboam the son of Nabat, which made Israel sin with the golden calves in Bethel and Dan. For it is written of him, that "he forced not himself to walk in the law of the Lord God of Israel with all his heart."

St Paul made no lie; for he was indeed a citizen of

Rome, because his father was free; as at London, the children of freemen be citizens and free. How Paul was a citizen of Rome.

Now, as concerning our Saviour Jesus Christ, God forbid that we should say he lied, in whose mouth no guile could be found; who speaketh of himself, "I am the way, the truth." His pretending to go further was no lying, Luke xxiv. but a true meaning; for he went further afterward, when he ascended up into the heaven in the sight of his apostles; which thing only was meant, by his pretending to go further: for it is a mystery. No man therefore can affirm that Christ lied, but he that denieth him to have ascended.

Many false things are feigned, to signify and teach true things: which be no lies; for they be not spoken as things true, as things done, but to teach us what we should do: as the narration of Lazarus and the rich man; the parable of him which had two sons, of the which one abode at home with his father, the other went into far countries; the parable of trees in the book of Judges, Judg. ix. Matt. xxi. which speak¹ one to another; the parable of the vineyard, Matt. xxv. of the virgins, of ten groats, of the sheep, of the unrighteous judge, of mustard seed, and of the Pharisee and the Publican. Luke xv. Luke xviii. Matt. xiii. Luke xviii. If all these be lies, Christ is a great and notable liar, who spake always in parables to the people; the prophets are liars; yea, all the scripture is full of lies. Not only the scripture, but all heathen writers use this manner of teaching; as Horace, making the little mouse to speak; and Esop, giving language to fowls, fishes, and four-footed beasts: and yet not any wise man slandered them at any time of lying. Horace. [Sat. Lib. ii. vi. 80.] Esop. Thus it is evident, that they which maintain lying rack the scriptures, and open them not with Peter's key, but with a picklock; and that the examples brought for lying either be no lies, but jests, as Nasica; or mysteries, as Jacob's, Christ's; or true sayings, as Abraham's, Isaac, and Paul; or else, if they be lies, as Ennius' maid, Sara, the midwives, Rahab, Jehu, they are earnestly to be eschewed: for no lie is of the truth; and whatso- 1 John ii. ever is not of the truth, is naught, seeing God is truth.

[¹ Speak, 1550; spake, 1560.]

THE TENTH CHAPTER.

God is full of compassion.

HE is also full of mercy; letting the sun shine upon good and evil, and sending rain to both sorts. "Thou, most gracious Lord, bringest forth grass and herbs for cattle, and food out of the earth; thou givest us wine to make our hearts glad, and oil to cheer our countenance, and bread to strengthen the heart; thou satisfiest all men's desires with good things," and specially of those that be merciful; as the only-begotten Son maketh proclamation in the mountain: "Blessed are the merciful, for they shall receive mercy." "The earth is full of thy mercies: and it, O Lord, reacheth unto the heaven." No place is empty of thy mercies.

The Origenists defend, that God's mercy pierceth into hell, and that all men, the devils also, shall at length be saved, alleging this scripture, "His mercy be upon all his works," and, "The mercy of God is upon all flesh." They bring also God's righteousness in judgment, which they deny to punish sin everlastingly; for then the punishment should be greater than the fault, which is temporal, and hath an end. This is a merciful heresy: but God sheweth no mercy against his truth. His truth saith: "Depart from me, ye cursed, into everlasting fire, which is prepared for the devil and his angels." No man can here justly say, that everlasting fire is taken for a long fire; albeit the Latin word, *eternum*, be sometime taken so, *pro diuturno*; for the Greek is, *εἰς τὸ πῦρ τὸ αἰώνιον*, which word is never taken but for evermore, world without end. As for their argument, that the punishment must be no greater than the fault: I answer, that our least fault deserveth everlasting fire, because it is committed against God, who is everlasting, albeit the fault be begun and ended in time: so that he is more to be considered against whose divine will it is done, than what is done. For the scripture denieth him the kingdom of heaven, that breaketh one of the least com-

mandments. Doth it not cry, that "in hell there is no redemption:" and, "In death who remembereth thee? and who will give thee thanks in hell?" and, "Where the tree falleth, there it shall lie." The continuance of hell fire is described notably of Christ, where he commandeth us to cut off our hand, our foot, and to pluck out our eye; that is, to prefer heavenly things to our fathers, and mothers, and familiar friends; saying, "If thy hand offend thee, cut him off: it is better for thee to enter into life maimed, than having two hands to go into hell, into fire unquenchable; where their worm dieth not, and the fire never goeth out." What can be more plainly, more vehemently spoken, of the endless pain of the wicked, than these words, "Into fire unquenchable; where their worm dieth not and the fire never goeth out?" which terms, in the same place, be repeated twice more afterward.

If there be no redemption in hell, how is it written in the book of the Kings, "Our Lord bringeth folk down into hell, and bringeth them again?" We read also, that Anania, Azaria, and Misael, blessed the Lord for delivering them out of hell, and 'saving them from the power of death. This word, "hell," in the first place, doth not signify that which is commonly meant thereby, but a grave or pit that is digged: for the Hebrew word is *sheol*. "If any evil chance unto my son Benjamin in the land whither you go, you shall bring down mine hoar hairs with sorrow unto hell," that is, into my grave. In Daniel it signifieth adversity, trouble, and misery; as in many other places.

An objection.
Psal. vi.
1 Sam. ii.
Dan. iii.

Psal. xvi.
Hell hath
three significations.
Gen. xlii.

THE ELEVENTH CHAPTER.

God is full of righteousness: and, of the prosperity of evil men, and the affliction of good men.

THIS endless punishment of the wicked is no derogation to God's great mercy; but rather a mirror of his righteous-

[Saving them from, 1550; saving from, 1560.]

ness. For as he is merciful, so is he righteous: as the mercy endureth for ever toward the good, so his righteousness endureth no less time toward the evil. David testifieth him to be "just in all his ways, and holy in all his works." By his righteousness he hated Cain, Esau, and the thief on the left hand; and by his mercy he loved Abel, Jacob, and him that hung on the right hand. Through these two happened the blindness of the Jews, and the fullness of the gentiles. If he be unrighteous, how shall he judge the world? His saints' judgments be righteous: he shutteth the unrighteous out of heaven: he rewardeth right dealers: wherefore he himself must needs be a righteous God.

Thou wilt say: "Why then doth he suffer the wicked to prosper; giving them riches, honour, and children? And why doth he punish the godly with poverty, sickness, and all kind of misery? Why doth he suffer wicked Manasses to murder cruelly Esay? Why doth he let Jeremy be slain of Apries, Zachary of the high priests, John Baptist of Herode, Christ of Pilate? Why doth he suffer the devil to plague the patient man Job with all kind of adversity? Why will he all good men to bear a cross in this world?" St Paul telleth us, "When we are judged, we are chastened of the Lord, lest we be damned with the world." And, "It is good for me," said David, "that I have been in trouble, that I may learn thy statutes." Here two causes be rehearsed, why God layeth affliction, trouble, and the cross, upon the shoulders of his elect; that they may avoid damnation, and learn to keep his commandments; for trouble giveth understanding. "Lord," saith Esay, "in trouble they cry unto thee." The adversity which they suffer is a lesson unto them. "When the outward man perisheth, the inward is renewed day by day." Moreover, "God hath set at the entering of the garden of pleasure cherubim, with a fiery sword, moving in and out, to keep the way to the tree of life;" to which there is no access but by affliction, which is porter: as it is written, "We must enter through much trouble into the kingdom of heaven." Wherefore, "God loveth them whom he troubleth; and he scourgeth every son that he receiveth." "They that are under no correction, are called bastards, no sons."

Psal. cxlv.

Rom. iii.

1 Cor. xi.

Psal. cxix.

Isai. xxviii.

Isai. xxvi.

2 Cor. iv.

Gen. iii.

Prov. iii.

Heb. xii.

Cato, when Pompey was overthrown of valiant Julius Cæsar, began to be angry with God, thinking him partial: but we christian men may not do so, knowing adversity to be a token of God's favour, an occasion of understanding, a cause of amendment. These scriptures teach us, that God punisheth his elect for their erudition and commodity, not¹ for any unrighteousness; albeit, the holiest man that ever was deserveth a cross in this life. His righteousness impoverisheth us, plagueth us, and condemneth us: and his mercy enricheth us, healeth us, and crowneth us.

But it is written of Jacob and Esau, that "or they were born, or they had done good or evil, God loved the one, and hated the other;" which was contrary to all true judgment. St Paul, in the same place, compareth God to a potter, and men to clay. "The potter hath power over the clay, to make, even of one and the same lump, one vessel unto honour and another unto dishonour." And hath not God power over us, which be but clay, that is naught, the children of wrath, to condemn or to save? The Latin word here declareth more plainly what we be, which is, *Ex eodem luto*. We be all become dirt by the fall of the first Adam. If he crown dirt, it is his mercy through the second Adam. If he condemn it, he giveth right judgment. Thou wilt say then, "Why blameth he us? For who can resist his will?" He made thee not clay, that is, the child of death; but after the image of God, and without sin. Thou art dirt and clay through the sin of Adam, not because of thy creation; for God would have all men saved. And why be they not? The cause is not in him, but in us: not that we be able to withstand his will, but because he will save none against their will. He will save all; that is, all that will take it when it is offered them; all that refuse not the salvation of their own souls, as the Israelites did. For Christ saith unto them, that "he would have gathered them together, as the hen gathereth her chickens under her wings, and they would not." Such be not saved; for God saveth no man against his will. There is, then, no partiality, no unrighteousness with God, whose judgments be unsearchable, but never against justice; above our ca-

An objection.

The answer.
Rom. ix.

Rom. ix.

The cause
in us not in
God².

Matt. xxiii

[¹ Not, 1550; nor 1560.]

[² This passage is not in the edition of 1550.]

capacity, but never against equity. Who is able to discuss, why some die old, some young, some in middle age? why some be poor, some rich, some gentlemen, some lords, some kings, some of a base stock, and other infinite diversities? If these things were necessary to be known, God would have opened them in his scriptures: but, in that he speaketh not of them, he judgeth them unprofitable for us to know. Let us believe, that God worketh all these things, and that therefore they must needs be right and just, because he is the workman; not searching things above our understandings; but say, with St Paul, "O the deepness of the riches, and wisdom, and knowledge of God! how unsearchable are his judgments, and his ways untraceable! for who hath known the mind of the Lord? or who was his counsellor?"

THE TWELFTH CHAPTER.

God is full of compassion.

HE is full of all goodness, St James witnessing of him, that "every good gift is from above, and cometh down from the father of light;" that is, father of good men; for they are called light. *Vos estis lux mundi*, "you are the light of the world." "What have we, that we have not received?" He is liberal, patient, merciful, wise, strong, constant, equal, faithful, magnificent, affable. Liberal, "giving to all men indifferently, and casting no man in the teeth;" patient, "calling us through his long suffering unto repentance;" merciful, "not dealing with us after our sins, nor rewarding us according to our wickedness;" wise, for "of his wisdom," David saith, "there is no number;" strong, for "he is our buckler, our shield, our strength and defence, the rock of our might, and castle of our health;" constant, "with whom no man can prove any variableness;" equal, for "there is no partiality with God;" "there is no Jew neither Gentile, neither

James i.

Matt. v.

1 Cor. iv.

James i.

Rom. ii.

Psal. ciii.

Psal. cxlvii.

Psal. lxii.

James i.

Rom. ii.

Gal. iii.

bond nor free, neither man ne woman, but all be one in Christ Jesu;" faithful, for "he is a strong God and a faithful; stable in all his words;" magnificent, for "the work of the Lord is great, and worthy to be praised;" "the heavens, the sun, and the stars, the waters, and great fishes therein, are the work of thy fingers;" affable, exhorting us continually to ask, knock, and pray unto him; and talking with us most familiarly, first by holy fathers, his prophets and patriarchs; afterward by his only begotten Son, Jesus Christ, walking here upon earth, to whom belongeth all power, majesty, rule, and honour. We read of a certain ruler, which called Christ "Good master;" asking him what he should do to obtain everlasting life: whom Christ rebuked, saying, "Why callest thou me good? None is good, save God only." If God only be good, then all goodness is in him.

THE THIRTEENTH CHAPTER.

God only is immortal; and yet, nevertheless, the minds of men and angels be immortal.

HE is without beginning, without ending. How can he have any beginning, of whom all things take their original? How can he have any end, who is of himself, and by no other thing? Heaven and earth perisheth; and all that is in them shall fade away as grass, and as the flower of the field: but our God liveth eternally; who speaketh of himself, "I am Alpha and Omega, the beginning and the ending; which is, which was, and which is to come." Paul affirmeth the same unto his disciple Timothe; giving all honour and rule unto God, "who only hath immortality."

If only God have immortality, why doth Christ forbid us to fear men, which slay the body, and cannot slay the soul? How is man formed after the image and similitude of God? How can the immortality of the mind be defended, and of

¹How only
God is said
to be im-
mortal.

Angels. angels? Truly man's soul is immortal, and yet only God is immortal: for this word, "only," doth not deny this privilege to other things, as to man's soul, to the angels; but God is said only to be immortal, as he is said only to be good, and only to forgive sin. Man's soul is immortal; but clean after another sort than God, who only hath immortality. For the scripture testifieth of man's soul, that it dieth, saying, "Suffer the dead to bury their dead;" that is to say, let the dead in soul bury the dead in body. It is troubled with affections, with passions, and subject to mutability. But it so dieth through vice, that it ceaseth not to live in his own nature. It is so mortal, that it is also immortal. Wherefore God is only everlasting, immortal, evermore, who is only immutable. And if this interpretation do not content thee, hear another. That is immortal properly, which is without beginning, without ending. All creatures have a beginning; of the which some nevertheless are called immortal, because they have no ending; as, the angels, man's soul: but only God is properly immortal, who speaketh of himself, "I am, which is, which was, which is to come." This belongeth only to God; and to none of his creatures, to none of the works of his fingers: of which, some may truly say, that they be, and are to come; but not, that they were; because once they were not.

Man's soul is both mortal and immortal.

Matt. viii.

Immortal properly.

Rev. i.

THE FOURTEENTH CHAPTER.

God is the maker of all things: whereof he made them, by whom, and who made the devil: and, of the beginning of sin, and all¹ evil.

IN the beginning God made all things: wherefore he hath no beginning; and that which never had beginning, cannot have ending. When I say, God made all things, I mean, that the Father, the Son, and the Holy Spirit, formed heaven and earth, angels and men, and all other creatures, of nothing. For of the Son it is written, "All things were

The world is the workmanship of the whole Trinity.

John i.

[¹ All evil, 1550; evil, 1560.]

made by him ;” and of the holy Comforter, “ By the word of the Lord were the heavens made, and all the hosts of them by the breath of his mouth :” where the Latin is *Spiritus*. Yea, in the beginning of the book it is written of them both, that they be no creatures. Of the Son : “ In the beginning God created heaven and earth :” that is, in Christ. For he answereth the Jews, asking what he was, “ I am the beginning which speak unto you ;” and in whose behalf David speaketh, “ In the beginning of the book it is written of me.” Paul to the Hebrews repeateth the latter text, and expoundeth it of Christ. And, *Dixit Deus, fiat lux*, &c. “ God said, Be there light :” “ Be there a firmament :” “ God said, The waters be gathered together :” “ God said, Be there lights in the firmament.” This phrase and manner of speaking is joined with the creation of every thing. What did God say ? What language did he speak ? Did he speak Greek, Latin, Italian, French, Spanish, English, or Hebrew ? Mark, this was no audible voice, no sounding or transitory noise, coming from the lights ; but God said, Be there light, firmament, &c. : that is to say, God made these things by his saying, by his word, by his voice ; which is Christ, as it is written, “ In the beginning was the Word ;” that is, “ In the Father was Christ ;” and all things were made by it, and nothing was made without it ; as Moses teacheth very well, repeating these words, *Deus dixit*, “ God said,” in the creation of every thing. And why is Christ called his Father’s Word ? Truly, because he is his image ; and no man cometh to the knowledge of the Father, but by the Son. And as we do open, manifest, and declare our minds one to another by our words and communication ; so God is disclosed, opened, and discovered by Christ. “ No man hath seen God at any time : the only begotten Son, which is in the bosom of the Father, he hath declared him.” In his sermons he is sincerely published, and plainly painted and portrayed. For this cause he is surnamed the saying of God, and an audible and a transitory Word : not properly ; but by a metaphor and borrowed speech. And this transitory Word made all things, upholdeth all things, governeth all things.

Now, touching the Holy Spirit, we read in the first chapter of Generation, *Et Spiritus Domini ferebatur*, “ the Spirit

[² John viii. 25. τὴν ἀρχὴν ὃ τι καὶ λαλῶ ὑμῖν.]

Psal. xxxiii.

Christ
maker
thereof.
Gen. i.

In the be-
ginning.
John viii.
Psal. xl.
Heb. x.

Gen. i.
God said.

John i.

Why Christ
is named a
Word.
Heb. i.

John i.

The Holy
Spirit is
maker of
the world.
Gen. i.

of the Lord was borne upon the waters." Many do expound by the Spirit, in this text, the wind; but it cannot be taken so, for many causes. First, the wind is the exhalation, or spirit, of the waters; this was the Spirit of God, as the text doth say. Moreover, the wind then was uncreate, unmade. For I think no man will defend, that the wind was made before the first day, which is made after these words. And others do read, for *ferebatur super aquas*.—*fovebat, vel excluderat, aquas*, "the Spirit did bring forth or hatch the waters;" and so indeed the word signifieth in the Syrian tongue. Wherefore, "was borne upon the waters," is no blast of wind, but a metaphor of the hen, and a borrowed speech. The hen is borne of her eggs, and sitteth upon them, and so hatcheth her young: and so the Holy Ghost was borne upon the waters; sat upon them; brought forth and hatched all creatures, which there are called waters. For, as it is written, "When thou lettest thy Spirit go forth, they are made." Basil¹, who for his great learning was surnamed

Borne upon
the waters,
what it is.

Psal. civ.
Basil.

[¹ Εἶγε τοῦτο λέγει τὸ πνεῦμα τοῦ ἀέρος τὴν χύσιν, δέξει τὰ μέρη τοῦ κόσμου καταριθμοῦντά σοι τὸν συγγραφέα, ὅτι ἐποίησεν ὁ Θεὸς οὐρανὸν, γῆν, ὕδωρ, αἶρα; τοῦτον χεόμενον ἤδη καὶ ρέοντα· εἶτε, ὃ καὶ μάλιστα ἀληθέστερόν ἐστι καὶ τοῖς πρὸ ἡμῶν ἐγκριθέν, πνεῦμα Θεοῦ τὸ ἅγιον εἶρηται (διὰ τὸ τετηρηῆσθαι τοῦτο ἰδιαζύντως καὶ ἐξαιρέτως τῆς τοιαύτης μνήμης ὑπὸ τῆς γραφῆς ἀξιοῦσθαι, καὶ μηδὲν ἄλλο πνεῦμα Θεοῦ ἢ τὸ ἅγιον τὸ τῆς θείας καὶ μακαρίας τριάδος συμπληρωτικὸν ὀνομάζεσθαι), καὶ ταύτην προσδεξάμενος τὴν διάνοιαν, μείζονα τὴν ἀπ' αὐτῆς ὠφέλειαν εὐρήσεις. Πῶς οὖν ἐπεφέρετο ἐπάνω τοῦ ὕδατος; ἐρῶ σοι οὐκ ἐμαντοῦ λόγον, ἀλλὰ Σύρου ἀνδρὸς σοφίας κοσμικῆς τοσοῦτον ἀφεστηκότος, ὅσον ἐγγὺς ἦν τῆς τῶν ἀληθινῶν ἐπιστήμης. Ἐλεγε τοίνυν τὴν τῶν Σύρων φωνὴν ἐμφατικωτέραν τε εἶναι, καὶ διὰ τὴν πρὸς τὴν Ἑβραϊδα γειννῶσι μᾶλλον πῶς τῇ ἐννοίᾳ τῶν γραφῶν προσεγγίζει· εἶναι οὖν τὴν διάνοιαν τοῦ ῥητοῦ τοιαύτην. Τὸ Ἐπεφέρετο, φησὶν, ἐξηγοῦνται, ἀντὶ τοῦ Συνέβαλτε καὶ ἐξωγόνει τὴν τῶν ὑδάτων φύσιν, κατὰ τὴν εἰκόνα τῆς ἐπαζούσης ὀρνιθος, καὶ ζωτικὴν τινα δύναμιν ἐνείσης τοῖς ὑποθαλαπομένοις. Τοιοῦτόν τινα φησὶν ὑπὸ τῆς φωνῆς ταύτης παραδηλοῦσθαι τὸν νοῦν, ὡς ἐπιφερομένου τοῦ πνεύματος· τουτέστι πρὸς ζωογονίαν τὴν τοῦ ὕδατος φύσιν παρσκευάζοντος. ὥστε ἰκανῶς ἐκ τούτου τὸ παρά τινων ἐπιζητούμενον δέκνυσθαι, ὅτι οὐδὲ τῆς δημιουργικῆς ἐνεργείας τὸ πνεῦμα τὸ ἅγιον ἀπολείπεται. Basil. in Hexam. Homil. ii. Opera, i. 21. Edit. Par. 1638.]

magnus, expoundeth this text thus, and saith that his predecessors took it so; and St Austin² is of the same mind; Augustine. and Philip Melanethon³ alloweth their interpretation. Thus Melanethon. Thus it is evident, that the universal world is the workmanship of the whole Trinity, whose works be inseparable, as they be inseparable, and one almighty, everlasting, invisible, unsearchable God, of one substance and nature, power and majesty, who gathered the waters together as it were in a bottle, who maketh the clouds his chariot and goeth upon the wings of the wind, and who spreadeth out heaven like unto a curtain.

After that he had finished all his works, he beheld them; and, lo, they were exceeding good. Now there be many things not good, unprofitable, unfruitful, perilous; for thorns and thistles prick us; the gout grieveth us; the poeks, the canker consumeth us; the sciatica paineth us; spasms, palsies, fevers, noy us; serpents do poison us; flies do bite us; cats do scrat us; fleas do eat us; mountains weary us; snow doth let us; thunders do fear us; the cocodriles do kill our bodies, and the devil our souls.

God made not these things, for all that he made was good; and if he made not these, he made not all things. The earth bringeth forth thorns and thistles, and other venomous

[² Non ita superferebatur sicut oleum aquæ, vel aqua terræ, id est quasi contineretur; sed, si ad hoc de visibilibus exempla capienda sunt, sicut superfertur lux ista solis aut lune his corporibus, quæ illuminat in terra: non enim continetur illis; sed cum cælo contineatur, istis superfertur. Item cavendum est, ne quasi locorum spatii Dei Spiritum superferri materiæ putemus, sed vi quadam effectoria et fabricatoria, ut illud cui superfertur efficiatur et fabricetur; sicut superfertur voluntas artificis ligno, vel cuique rei subjectæ ad operandum, vel etiam ipsis membris corporis sui, quæ ad operandum movet. Et hæc similitudo cum jam sit omni corpore excellentior, parva est tamen, et prope nihil ad intelligendam superationem Spiritus Dei, subjectæ sibi ad operandum mundi materia: sed non invenimus evidentiorē similitudinem et propinquiorē rei, de qua loquimur, in iis rebus quæ ab hominibus quomocunque capi possunt. August. de Genes. Opera, iii. 98. edit. Paris. 1679—1700.]

[³ Spiritus Dei in scripturis Spiritum sanctum significat: ideo non exponemus de acre, nam aer aqua est; et pro *ferebatur*, *fovebat* legunt Basilius, Ambrosius, et Hieronimus, et Syrum quendam testem citat Basilius. Atque ita idem hic docetur, quod supra: conservationem aquæ non naturæ esse, sed Spiritus sancti incubantis aquæ. Melanethon, in Genesin, cap. i. Opera, ii. 380. edit. Witebergæ, 1601.]

Sin the
cause of
barren-
ness¹.
Gen. iii.

herbs, not by nature, but through the sin of man: unto whom God speaketh, "Because thou hast obeyed the voice of thy wife, and hast eaten of the tree, of which I commanded thee not to eat, cursed be the earth in thy work; in sorrow shalt thou eat thereof all the days of thy life; and it shall bear thorns and thistles unto thee; and thou shalt eat the herbs of the field; in the sweat of thy face shalt thou eat bread." Before sin, we read not that the earth brought forth thistles, bushes, unfruitful trees; but green grass, fruitful trees, and herbs bearing wholesome seeds.

Gen. i.

The cause
of sickness.

Why God
cursed² the
earth.

1 Cor. xv.

John xv.

Ecc[us].
xxvii.

The fall of Adam also caused all manner of griefs, pangs, sickness, disease; which then began to torment man, when God had said, "In sorrow shalt thou eat thereof all the days of thy life." By this word, "sorrow," all such things be meant and signified. If you ask me, why God suffered the earth to bring forth thorns and unfruitful trees? my answer is, not to pain the earth with them, which feeleth no pain; but to admonish us of our sin; to put us in remembrance of our fault; to be a warning unto us, as often as we see them, to take heed that we sin no more. For if he punish the earth for our sins, how much more will he punish us! Wherefore this memory shall continue until the sting of death, which is sin, be taken away; and until that be brought to pass that is written, "Death is consumed into victory. Death, where is thy sting? Hell, where is thy victory?" By unfruitful trees, he warneth us that we be not unfruitful. For as husbandmen forsake their trees, not dunging, not watering them, when they be barren, but do³ burn them; even so God ceaseth to pour his blessings upon the unfruitful; for he is a husbandman. Harken what his only Son saith, whom we are commanded to hear: "I am the true vine, and my father is the husbandman:" "He that abideth not in me, is cast forth as a branch, and is withered; and men gather it, and cast it into the fire, and it burneth." This fruit we may gather and learn of the unfruitful tree. By sickness, partly he scourgeth us for our sin; partly he tryeth us, and learneth us his will; as it is written: "The oven proveth the potter's vessel; so doth temptation of trouble try righteous men."

[¹ Barrenness, 1550; barren, 1560.]

[² Cursed, 1550; curseth, 1560.]

[³ Do, 1550; to, 1560.]

Now we are come to those which demand, who made serpents, cocodriles, flies, worms, &c. ; of which much harm and no profit cometh? Verily, he who made all things. Although they be hurtful unto us for our disobedience, yet be they exceeding good in their own nature, and profit unto the furnishing of the whole world; no less than the other, which we recount more profitable and precious. If an ignorant man chance to go into a cunning man's shop, and happen to see many tools there that he knoweth not, he thinketh them either to be unprofitable or not necessary. Even so we, in Almighty God's shop, which is the world, do judge many things to be naught, because we are ignorant. The cocodrile, the little fly, the small flea, have their commodity, albeit we know it not. Our ignorance doth not argue God's works to be unprofitable. Yea, God's glory and wonderful power is more marvellous in making the little fly to hear, to taste, and to feel, with a mouth, with legs, with wings, a body, the stomach, the other inward parts, than in an elephant; and more marvellous in a frog, than in a great whale; and in a mouse, than in a mighty horse. If thou come into a rich man's house, and seest much stuff, thou thinkest all to be to some purpose; and darest thou judge, that God in his house hath made any thing to no purpose? All God's creatures either be profitable, or hurtful, or not necessary: thank him for the profitable, take heed of the hurtful, and question not, reason not, of things not necessary. For although thy capacity cannot perceive it, yet God hath made all things in measure, and number, and weight. He made not the devil, for he made him an angel; and he made himself a devil by sinning, when he fell from heaven as lightning. For the devil is as much to say as an accuser and a seducer; of the Greek word *diaballo*, which signifieth to accuse, to infame, to deceive. God made man, but he made not man evil: so he made him an angel, but not a devil. He made many angels, but they made themselves evil; for no evil cometh of him, as it is written: "He beheld many things, yea, all that he had made; and, lo, they were exceeding good." But why did he make him an angel, knowing he would become a devil? Why did he make other angels innumerable? Why many thousands of men, women, and children, which he foreseeth

who made
the ser-
pents, flies,
and other
like.

Wisd. xi.

Who made
the devil.

Luke x.

Gen. i.

shall be damned? Verily, that he might declare himself to be righteous in punishing the ungodly, as he is merciful in rewarding the godly. No man can blame him therefore, but rather magnify his righteousness. He compelleth them not to sin, for which they are damned. Should God, because he foresaw they would be evil, abstain from creating them, which is good? Is it not lawful for him to do what him listeth with his own? Are their eyes evil because he is good? Should he not do well in making them, because they would do ill in offending him? Of this thing seek a further answer in the twelfth of the book of Wisdom. But let us return from whence we are strayed, albeit these questions are annexed unto our purpose.

The smith is not able to make any thing without iron, nor the carpenter without wood, nor the tailor without cloth, nor the shoemaker without leather, nor the potter without clay: but God, who is almighty, made all things of nothing. Before any thing was, what could there be to make them of, except he would have made them of himself? Jesus, the son of Sirach, saith: *Qui vivit in æternum creavit omnia simul*, "He that liveth for evermore made all things, *simul*, together:" that is, God made, first, a confused heap, called in Greek *chaos*, of nothing; and of that heap he formed all things: as it is written, *Qui fecisti mundum ex materia informi*, "Who hast formed the world of a confused heap." He made this heap altogether, where he saith, "In the beginning God created all things, heaven and earth;" for the heap is called there heaven and earth, as afterward also it is called the water; "The spirit of the Lord was borne upon the waters." So far no time, no order of days, is mentioned. Afterward God, of this heap, in six days, shapeth all things. So that both be true, that God made the world in six days, and that he made all things together. This article of creation is necessary to be known; forasmuch as some deny God to be the maker of the world, and giveth the glory thereof to angels; as the Menandrians, Saturnians, Cerinthians, and also the Nicolaitans; and it is the first article of our creed.

Matt. xx.

Wisd. xii.

All things
were made
of nothing
together,
and¹ in six
days.

Ecclus. xviii.

Wisd. xi.

Gen. i.

[¹ Together and in, 1550; together in, 1560.]

THE FIFTEENTH CHAPTER.

God ruleth the world after his providence: and how he rested the seventh day.

OTHER grant God to be maker of all things: but they suppose that, as the shipwright, when he hath made the ship, leaveth it to the mariners, and meddleth no more therewith; and as the carpenter leaveth the house that he hath made; even so God, after he had formed all things, left all his creatures to their own governance, or to the governance of the stars; not ruling the world after his providence, but living in ease and quietness, as the Stoics, Epicures, and divers astrolgers; because it is written, that on the seventh day God rested from all his works.

To these I answer, with the prophet David: "God Psal. cxlvii. covereth the heaven with clouds, prepareth rain for the earth, maketh the grass to grow upon the mountains, giveth fodder unto the cattle, maketh fast the bars of the gates of Sion, blesseth the children within, maketh peace in our borders, filleth us with the flour of wheat, giveth us snow like wool, scattereth the hoar frost like ashes, casteth forth his ice like morsels, helpeth them to right that sustain wrong, Psal. cxlvi. looseth men out of prison, giveth sight to the blind, raiseth up them that are fallen, careth for strangers, defendeth the fatherless, succoureth the widow:" wherefore he is not an idle God. For as the body liveth through the life of the soul, even so the world continueth by God's governance, who ruleth it as the master doth his servant; without whom it perisheth in the twinkling of an eye. "All things wait Psal. civ. upon him to receive food in due season. When he giveth it them, they gather it; when he openeth his hand, they are filled with good things: when he hideth his face, they are sorrowful; if he take away his breath, they die, and are turned again to dust." The commonwealth of the Israelites teacheth us, how wonderfully God provideth for them that he hath chosen. He preserved Jacob from his Gen. xxxiii. brother Esau; he sent Joseph into Egypt, to make pro- Gen. xlv. Psal. cv.

Exod. x. vision against the seven dear years. He sent darkness
 Exod. vii. amongst the Egyptians; he turned their waters into blood,
 Psal. lxxviii. and slew their fish. Their lands brought forth frogs, flies,
 Exod. viii. lice, grasshoppers, caterpillars, yea, even in their king's cham-
 Exod. xii. bers. He brought them forth of the house of bondage and
 Exod. xiv. slavery with silver and gold. He rebuked the sea, and dried
 it up, and he led them through the deep as in the wilder-
 Exod. xiii. ness. He spread out a cloud to be a covering, and fire
 Psal. cv. to give light in the night season. At their desires came
 Exod. xvi. quails, and he filled them with the bread of heaven. He
 Josh. iii. opened the rock of stone, and the waters flowed out, so
 that rivers came into the wilderness. He dried up the
 waters of Jordan, that the people might pass over. He
 Josh. vi. overthrew the walls of Jericho, and made the sun to stand
 Josh. x. still, and the day was lengthened. He slew mighty kings,
 Psal. cxxxv. Sehon, king of the Amorites, and Og, king of Basan, and
 Num. xxi. gave away their land for an heritage. Of which scriptures
 Deut. iii. it doth consequently follow, that he governeth the world
 Josh. xii. by his providence, and not by the wheel of fortune, or by
 force of destiny. For if he governed them, he governeth
 Psal. xxiv. us; seeing the earth is the Lord's, and all that is therein,
 the compass of the world, and all that dwell therein.

But some do say, that he governed the Israelites, the
 seed of Abraham, the chosen generation; but not the re-
 sidue of the earth, which he gave up to their own govern-
 1st Pet. ii. ance. Verily God ruled all, as he is Lord of all. For
 Acts xiv. Paul preacheth to the Athenians, that "we live, move, and
 Acts xvii. be in him." He gave them also rain, light, corn, grass;
 Job xxxviii. as he himself teacheth Job out of a storm, saying: "Who
 divideth the abundance of waters into rivers? Or who maketh
 a way for the stormy weather, that it watereth and moist-
 ureth the dry and barren ground, to make grass grow where
 nobody dwelleth? Who is the father of rain? Or who
 hath begotten the drops of our dew? Out of whose womb
 came the ice? Who hath gendered the coldness of the air,
 that the waters are as hard as stones, and lie congealed
 above the deep?" Did he not stir up Pharaoh among
 1 Kings xx. the Egyptians, Benhadad among the Syrians, Salmanasar
 among the Assyrians, Nabuchodonozor among the Babylo-
 nians, Darius among the Medes, Artaxarces among the
 Parthians, Alexander among the Macedonians, and Ves-

pasian among the Romans? In the book of the Kings, Elias is commanded to anoint Hasael king of Syria; Jehu, ^{1 Kings xix.} of Israel; and Eliseus to be prophet in his room. Whereby he teacheth us, that he maketh prophets and kings, and taketh away their kingdoms; as it is written, *Propter injustitias, et injurias, et diversos dolos, &c.* "Because of ^{Ecclus. x.} unrighteous dealing, wrong, and divers deceits, kingdoms shall be translated from one to another; for the power of the earth is in the hand of God."

If kings would earnestly believe this, which is God's ^{An exhortation to kings.} own voice, and behold how many kings he deposed in the book of Kings, and for what causes, they would be as earnest to set forth God's glory, that is, to cause the gospel to be preached through their dominions, and to relieve their poor brethren, which be members of the same body that they be, children of the same father, and heirs of the same kingdom, and that which is done to them is done to Christ, as they have been diligent, politic, yea, rather deceitful, in increasing their revenues, in filling their hutches with gold and silver: they would first seek for the kingdom of God, and then ^{Matt. vi.} God would be their castle, and cast all other things upon them, or else he is untrue of his promise. One being demanded, how a king might rule safely and assuredly, answered: If he devise good laws, and see them diligently practised. This is a necessary lesson for all princes that will live in quietness, or that will enjoy their crowns with long continuance. And a king ought to be a father to his subjects; not only to the gentlemen, but rather to his poor commons, for they have more need: he is the head of them as well as of the other. What causeth uproars and insurrections sooner than oppression of the poor? or what provoketh the wrath of God more against them? If I were demanded, how a king might not only pass his time safely, but also all his posterity and offspring continue in possession of the kingdom, I would answer: If he seek the glory of God unfeignedly. For if kingdoms be translated for unrighteousness, they are preserved by righteousness: if promotion come neither from the east nor from the west, but from the king of heaven, the way to attain it, and to maintain and continue it, is to please the king of heaven.

[¹ This passage was added in the edition of 1560.]

The patient man, Job, saith, that Almighty God oftentimes, for the wickedness and sin of the people, suffereth an hypocrite to reign over them. Now I think, that there was never more godly pretence, more outward shew of holiness, more dissimulation in rulers, than now is; and this is hypocrisy; and all the people be like the rulers, I warrant you. I would wish that all kings would diligently read over, and earnestly believe, the Chronicle of the kings. There they should find that which is written: "By me kings do reign." Cyrus, king of Persie, caused a proclamation to be made throughout his empire, that the Lord God of heaven had given him all the kingdoms of the earth. Is God of less ability now to do these things, than he was? or is he of less knowledge and understanding?

Prov. viii.

Ezra i.

But to the matter again: if he do not govern the world by his providence, it is either because he cannot and he is not able, or that he will not, or that he is ignorant what is done here. But there is no ignorance with him, to whom all things be naked and manifest; and he lacketh no cunning, for he is almighty, and nothing is impossible to him; and he lacketh no will, for he is full of goodness, mercy and compassion, and promiseth plenty of all good things to the godly, and scarcity to the evil. Wherefore he ruleth all by his providence. He causeth thunder, lightning, hail, frost, snow, darkness, life and death, barrenness and fruitfulness, rain and fair weather, wind, hunger, battle, peace, and pestilence; as it is written, "Prosperity and adversity, life and death, poverty and riches, come of the Lord." God sendeth all these things, partly to admonish us of our frailness, partly to punish the ill, and partly to try the good; as I have entreated before. I put case, thou knewest not wherefore he ordained many things; as thou art ignorant why he formed thee a man, and not a woman; an Englishman, and no Italian; were that a just cause deny his providence? Were it not a like thing, as if thou shouldst deny that I would be at London at the beginning of Michaelmas term, because thou knowest not my suit? We must think Almighty God to form all things to good purposes, albeit his works surmount our capacities. When thou lookest upon a dial, which declareth how the day passeth away, thou art moved to think that it is made by art,

[Eccles. xi.
14.]

God work-
eth all
things to
purposes.
The dial.

and not by chance. If one would carry a globe into Ireland, The globe. whose daily turnings would work the same thing in sun, the moon, and the five moveable stars, which is done in heaven every day and every night; which of them would think, in that wild country, the globe to be made without singular cunning? And do we think, that God governeth the world, the which comprehendeth both the dial and the globe, and the makers of both, by luck and fortune? Are the parts governed by reason, framed by art, finished by cunning, and not the whole? Or did Archimedes by art counterfeit the [Cicero, Tusc. Quæst. Lib. i. c. 25.] movings of heaven, and God not rule the same by his providence? If God do not rule it, there is something more mightier than he, which doth it. But he is almighty, and none is able to compare with him. Towns. Cities. Realms. Towns, cities, kingdoms, empires, be governed by counsel; much more the whole. The world is called of wise men the city of all creatures. Wherefore, as Athens, Lacedemon, Venice, Rome, Paris, London, and York, have mayors, aldermen, bailiffs, and constables, to govern them after counsel, even so hath it. But who is able to be mayor or constable thereof, but the highest? Therefore it is only ruled of him.

But, you will say, that city is not well governed where vice is maintained, and virtue punished; as Telamon, who denieth God's providence because good men be pained, and evil favoured. Why was Regulus tormented of the Carthaginians? An objection answered. Telamon. Why did cruel Cinna kill so many noble men? Regulus. Why did C. Cinna. Marius slay the good Quint.¹ Catulus? Marius. Dionysius. Diogenes. Why did Dionysius, Pisistratus, and Phalaris, put so many to death? [Cicero, De Nat. Deorum, Lib. iii. cap. 32—34.] Diogenes Cynicus was wont to say, that Harpalus, a strong thief upon the seas, bare witness against God that he was not mindful of us, because he continued so long. Albeit this objection be partly resolved before, yet I will touch it again, that it may be plentifully confuted; taking an example of St Paul, who unto the Philippians writeth: "It grieveth me not to

[¹ In both editions of Hutchinson the word here printed "Quint." stands "quene." It may admit of question whether this is not the old English word "quene," in the sense of "colleague;" but more probably it is merely a misprint. The instances here cited by Hutchinson were all derived from the passage of Cicero referred to in the margin, and there we read, "cui omnium perfidiosissimus C. Marius Q. Catulum, præstantissima dignitate virum, mori potuit jubere?"]

write one thing oftentimes, for to you it is a sure thing." If Paul, God's chosen vessel, to whom he gave no singular grace, thought it needful to write one thing oftentimes; how much more must we think the same of our small understandings and feeble brains, which be less able to paint God's secrets at one time!

Lazarus.

When thou seest one exceeding rich, and unworthy of riches, think not him happy, condemn not God's providence, judge not all things to go by luck and fortune. Remember Lazarus and the rich glutton. The one was cruel, proud, unmerciful, unpitiful, and yet stored with all things: the other humble, meek, full of patience, full of goodness, and yet of notable poverty and sickness. He did not accuse God, deny his providence, complaining with any such words as these: "I have not greatly sinned against God, and yet I am hunger-pined, pained with cold, and punished with sickness; but this evil man liveth in wealth, pleasure, ease and health: how can it be, that God is mindful of us? how is it true, that he governeth the world?" No, truly; he took it patiently: he thought himself worthy of God's rod.

Luke xvi.

Why good
men are
afflicted.

Wherefore, he was carried by angels into Abraham's bosom. The rich man was condemned to hell torments. The prosperity of the evil in this life increaseth their damnation in the other; and the good have adversity in this world, that they be not damned in the world to come. There is a common saying, "The end trieth the deed." Many thieves in this life live wealthily; many advouters, many extortioners, many idolaters, many tenderlings, &c. Is this a sufficient cause to deny God's providence? No, truly. If at the latter day he condemn the good and crown the evil, then say that he was unmindful of us: if not, say he is a righteous God, mindful of both good and ill: for the end teacheth thee no less. If, therefore, thou have affliction in this life, deny not God's providence; but comfort thyself with the example of Lazarus, of Paul, of Christ. Think, that he punisheth sin in this life, that thou be not damned for it in the other.

But now I will speak of evil rulers. God suffereth evil men to reign over the people, because of their sin and abominable living: as the common saying is, *Qualis populus, talis princeps*, that is, "like people, like prince." He scourgeth them with tyrants, because they be a froward and overthwart

generation, going astray from him, and starting aside like a broken bow. The book of the Judges registereth, that God Judg. iii. left, to scourge Israel, five lords of the Philistines, and all the Sidonites and Hevites that dwell in mount Lybanon. He stirred against them, when they sinned, Chusan-rasathaim, king of Mesopotamia, and Eglon king of the Moabites, Jabin king of Canaan; and he suffered Abimelech, a cruel tyrant, Judg. iv. to reign over them. Wherefore was Israel so oft sold into Judg. ix. the hands of the Egyptians, Chaldees, Assyrians, but for their wickedness? If God spared not his chosen generation, natural branches, and his own house, will he forbear the wild olives? Cinna and Marius, Dionysius and Phalaris, Pistratus and Harpalus, were rods and scourges, wherewith he scourged the heathen for their idolatry, shameful lusts, and unthankfulness: as Chusan, Eglon, and the Philistines were unto the Israelites. If they would have forsaken their vicious living, and returned unto God, whom they knew of his works, but were unthankful, not glorifying him as God; he would have delivered them from those tyrants by good rulers and magistrates, as he delivered the Israelites from Chusan-rasathaim, king of Mesopotamia, by Othniel, the Judg. iii. son of Kenes; from Eglon, by Ahud; and from Jabin, Judg. iv. king of Canaan, by Barak and Debora. Wherefore these Judg. v. examples do not deny God's providence; but prove us to be sinners, and declare his rightful judgments both upon the Jew and gentile. Yea, rather, they do establish and fortify his governance; teaching him to be mindful of all nations, in giving them good kings for their virtue, or cruel tyrants for their vice.

Diagoras, he that thought God to be unmindful of men, Diagoras atheos. [Cicero de Nat. Deorum. Lib. iii. cap. 37.] coming to Samothracia, a friend of his shewed him a table, wherein many were painted, which through vows had escaped shipwreck, and were come into the haven; to whom he said: But they are not painted which vowed, and nevertheless were drowned; ascribing their deliverance unto the blindness of fortune, and not unto the goodness of God. Doth Jonas so? Doth Paul so in the Acts, when he and all that were with him were in jeopardy of shipwreck? No, truly. He biddeth them be of good comfort. He taketh bread, and Acts xxvii. giveth thanks unto God, who had promised him by an angel, that an hair should not fall from the head of any of them.

It chanced another time, Diagoras sailing upon the sea, that a great flawe of wind arose. The mariners thought that God had sent them a tempest, because they had taken him into the ship; and agreed among themselves to cast him into the seas, thinking that then they would be quiet. But Diagoras desired them to look about; and shewing them other ships in no less danger, he asked them, whether Diagoras was in those other ships also: meaning, that tempests come not of God's providence, but by fortune and luck. How much wiser, and more likely, is the opinion of the noble clerk and most excellent philosopher Cleanthes, who fortifieth God's providence with four reasons! One is, because he foreseeth all things. The second, forasmuch as he giveth plenty and scarcity, cold and heat, corn, increase of cattle, and infinite other. The third, because he feareth us with thunder bolts; poureth down showers, hail, snow; causeth plagues, earthquakes, and blazing stars. The fourth, and greatest, is the constant turnings of heaven; the marvellous journeys of the sun, the moon, and the stars; the glorious fairness of them; the comely order of all things.

Cleanthes's
four rea-
sons.

[Cicero de
Nat. Deor.
lib. ii. c. 5.]

Who, entering into a school where he seeth all things be done in order, will not think it to be governed by some wise schoolmaster? If the school cannot keep a good order without a wise schoolmaster, much less the world, which comprehendeth all schools and schoolmasters. But who is able to be schoolmaster over all creatures, but God only? Wherefore, he ruleth them by his providence, as the schoolmaster doth his scholars. Is not that house best governed, best stored with all things necessary, which is ruled by counsel? Is not that army in better case, which hath a wise and politic captain, than that which hath a rash and foolish? The ship likewise, that hath a singular cunning master, goeth safely and assuredly. But nothing is better ruled than the world, in which the house, the army, and ship, be contained; which, of the comely order and great beauty that is in it, is called of Greeks *Κόσμος*, and of the Latinists *Mundus*. If we will search the holy scriptures, which bear witness of God, we shall find that he governeth the whole world; not as kings do their realms, mindful of weighty matters, and unmindful of small; but, that he is mindful both of great and small. The raven, the stork, the owl, the pelican, the kite, the sparrow,

An induc-
tion.
A house.

An army.
A ship.

the¹ little wren, the quail, the dove, the swallow, all four-footed beasts, are preserved by his providence. Did not all manner of creatures enter into the ark by couples, at his commandment, and were saved from drowning? "Doth not he purvey meat for the raven, when his young flicker about him?" Did not they, at his commandment, "bring bread and flesh to Elias beside the brook Kerith?" "Five sparrows are sold for a farthing; and yet none of them be forgotten of him." He fed his heritage with quails. He giveth pelicans, storks, kites, possession in the court of this world. He feedeth the lions' whelps in their dens, and lurking in their couches. He shut their mouths that they should not hurt his servant Daniel. Yea, he numbereth the hairs of our head, and clotheth the lilies of the field.

Gen. vii.

Job xxxviii.

1 Kings xvii.

Luke xii.

Exod. xvi.

Job xxxviii.

Dan. vi.

Matt. x.

I cannot here but somewhat rebuke such as curiously marketh their birth-day and birth-star; as if their life and doings were governed of necessity by the influence and moving of the stars. They teach, that there is such a pith and efficacy in the signifier circle, called of the Greeks *Zodiacos*, that every part thereof hath a several and vehement operation; the which virtue is sundry and divers through the seven moveable stars. By it they will all things to be ruled, and specially man, whose head, as they² say, is governed by *Aries*, the neck by *Taurus*, the shoulders by *Gemini*, and his feet by *Pisces*; which be signs in heaven, so named of the similitude of those things that they signify in earth: supposing Almighty God, as one tired with six days' labour, the seventh day to work no more. And if one be born under *Aries*, they promise him that he shall be rich and wealthy; because wethers be profitable beasts, rendering to their masters every year a good fleece³. If thou were born under *Taurus*, they say thou shalt be a servant, a slave, a drudge, and an underling, all thy life; for so much as this beast is yoked in ploughs and carts, and set to all drudgery. And if thou wert born under *Scorpius*, they tell thee thou shalt be a murderer, a thief, a blasphemer; because the scorpion is full of deadly poison; deducing the causes of governance in heaven of the properties of beasts in earth. This opinion hath caused much idolatry, and giving

Against fate, destiny, or the influence of the stars.

[¹ The, 1550; and the, 1560.]

[² They, 1550; the, 1560.]

[³ Fleece, 1550; flesh, 1560.]

the glory, belonging only to God, to the works of his fingers. For when men persuaded themselves that all things were governed by stars, they worshipped the sun, the moon, and the other moveable and unmoveable stars: and thinking that riches come from them, they have not prayed unto God, of whom only all good gifts are to be desired. The first chapter¹ of Genesis witnesseth, wherefore they are formed and created: not to rule man's life violently; not to govern us, as the tyrant doth his commons; but, *Ut sint in signa, et tempora, et dies, et annos, &c.* "To be for signs, and seasons, days, and years; to shine upon the earth, and to divide light from darkness."

Gen. i.

Many would excuse their vicious living by the influences and virtue of the stars, saying that they constrain them unto sin; as the servant of Zeno the philosopher blamed his master for striking him, because, as he said, the stars compelled him to sin. If our birth-star cause us to sin, and to do that is honest, wherefore should we be blamed when we do ill, or praised when we do well; seeing it is our nature and fatal destiny to do both, and not in our power to do otherwise? Who blameth the sun, because he burneth the grass of the field, making it unwholesome for cattle? Who praiseth the water for quenching of men's thirst, or the sun for warming them? Because they cannot do otherwise, they are neither² praised ne blamed. And shall we be blamed, or praised, for that which is not in our power? If Christ, the lively image of the Father, praised Mary Magdalene justly for choosing the better part, for pouring a box of precious ointment upon him before his burial; if he justly reprov'd Peter for counselling him not to come at Jerusalem, and for using the temporal sword against the servant of the high priest's; this is an untrue doctrine, which taketh away both praise and dispraise. We read in the scripture, that God hath prepared unspeakable torments for such as break his commandments. Wherefore doth he so, if destiny compel them to sin? If thou be accused before an officer of murder, and layest for thyself that thou hast done it against thy will, if thou can prove it, thou art discharged. If the hangman of Calais put a man to death at the commandment

Luke x.

John xi.

Mark viii.

John xviii.

Mark ix.

[¹ First chapter of, 1550; first of 1560.]

[² Nother, 1550; neither, 1560.]

of an officer, he is not blamed therefore. Yea, mine enemy will forgive me, if I hurt him against my will. And will Almighty God punish us so grievously, for breaking his commandments through fate and destiny?

You justices, sheriffs, bailiffs, and constables, why presume ye to punish evil doers? If a thief come before you, he is not to be blamed, but his destiny. If an adulterer, an idolator, an extortioner, you can lay nothing to his charge, but to the stars, which cause him to be naught, will he, nill he. No man escapeth punishment by laying of destiny for him. No officer will accept³ this answer of an evil doer. No master will allow his servant laying this for him, nor the mistress her maid, nor the schoolmaster his disciple, nor the merchantman his prentice. Whereof it is evident, that all men condemn this damnable opinion, by natural reason, in their deeds, albeit the words of some sound to the contrary.

If we think all thing to be governed by destiny, we must needs agree to the Libertines, which make no difference be- Libertines. tween good and bad, between right and wrong, between light and darkness; but defend all things to be lawful and honest, calling notable vices vocations commanded of God: if they spy a thief, they blame him not, but exhort him to continue in his vocation: they bid the bawd, the strong whore, apply their vocations: for St Paul saith, all things be lawful unto 1 Cor. vi. him; if unto him, to us. They ground this doctrine of the regeneration; the which, they say, is a full recoverance by Christ of that which we lost by Adam. He before his fall knew no difference between good and ill; but fell by know- Gen. iii. ledge of good and evil⁴. Now, they say, that Christ hath taken away evil; and, therefore, all that we do is good. For "he 1 John iii. that is born of him sinneth not, because his seed remaineth in him, and he cannot sin. Whosoever sinneth, hath not seen him, neither hath known him." Wherefore, they that will be the sons and children of God, must be like unto children, which neither know nor do neither good nor ill: for the Luke xviii. kingdom of God belongeth unto such. Doth not fate and des- Matt. xix. tiny teach the same? Nothing is good ne bad, except it be voluntary; nothing is to be praised or dispraised, nothing is

[³ Except, 1550; accept, 1560.]

[⁴ Evil, 1550; ill, 1560.]

- to be punished or recompensed. It taketh away all laws, statutes, acts, proclamations; for all men be born to obey them or to break them: if to obey them, they need not; if to break them, they profit not. But thou wilt answer: It is profitable that acts be put forth, that such as be disobedient escape not unpunished. O cruel destiny! which both causeth us to do evil, and punisheth us therefore. Is it not a like thing, as if a man should throw thee down headlong from the top of Paul's steeple, and, after finding thee alive, would all-to beat thee therefore? I would fain learn, whether all men and women in the time of the holy man Noe, and the host of Pharao which pursued the Israelites, had one fate and destiny. They were destroyed with one kind of punishment. I would know, whether all the Sodomits and Gomorrians were born under one planet, which all at one time, and after one fashion, were consumed with fire falling from heaven.
- Gen. vii. The idolatrers, which worshipped the golden calf, were slain therefore. The earth opened her mouth, and swallowed
- Exod. xiv. Chore¹, Dathan, and Abiram, and all their adherents, for their rebellion and insurrection against Moses, their head and ruler. If all things were governed by the stars, these men should have had divers punishments, because their destinies were unlike. Who knoweth not, that there have been divers excellent in many faculties and sciences, and that many were born at the same time with them? For at all times an infinite number are born, and yet we have none like Homer, in poetry; like Samson, in strength; like Aristotle, in philosophy; like Salomon, in wisdom; like Apelles, in painting; like Euclid, in geometry; like Tully, in eloquence. Were none born under the same constellation² that our Saviour Christ
- Gen. xix. was? It is likely, that both some of those babes which Herode murdered were born at the same time, and also divers in other regions. Stories make relation, that Anaxagoras,³ a noble philosopher, was trussed in a football and spurned to death, at the commandment of a cruel king. If it had been
- Exod. xxxii.
- Num. xvi.
- Matt. ii.
- Anaxagoras.

[¹ Swallowed Dathan, 1550; swallowed, Choree, Dathan, 1560.]

[² Instillation, in both editions.]

[³ This should probably be Anaxarchus, instead of Anaxagoras. Vide Cicero de Nat. Deor. Lib. iii. cap. 33. Tusc. Quæst. Lib. ii. cap. 21.]

his destiny, it would have chanced as well to other born under the same star.

But you will say: If the stars do not govern us, why did such a notable star appear when Christ was born? A star governed his nativity; for the wise men say, *Vidimus enim stellam ejus in oriente*, &c. "We have seen his star in the east." Truly, that star was none of the moveable or unmoveable stars; but a new star, in a new and marvellous case, never seen before ne afterward. As we read in the chronicles of many wonders which happened, commonly before great battles and conquests, as in the time of P. Crassus and L. Scævola, milk rained from heaven; in the time of L. Domitius and C. Lælius [Coelius], a maid was born with two heads, four hands, and four feet; and in the time of M. Antony, and P. Dolabella, there was seen a great blazing star and a trinity of⁵ suns; even so at Christ's birth, which was wonderful, appeared this star: who, as touching his divinity, had no mother; and, concerning his humanity, was born without a father. The wise men which, moved by this star, came to seek after Christ, signify the wisdom of man; which in matters of religion is foolishness. Wherefore God, of his infinite mercy, opened the incarnation of his Son by this star; and therewith stirred the wise to offer unto him *aurum, thus, et myrrham*, "gold, frankincense, and myrrh." By gold, is signified that he is a king; by frankincense, that he is God; and by myrrh, that he is man. If God had not opened it unto them, they could never have known his incarnation: the which St Paul calleth *mysterium absconditum a seculis*, "a mystery hid since the world begun, and since the beginning of generations; but now it is opened to his saints, to whom God would make known the glorious riches of his goodness." For this cause the star appeared, and not to govern all the doings of our Saviour Christ violently. All things be cast under his feet, and he made the stars; therefore he is not subject to the stars. But because heavenly matters surmount our capacities, his coming into this world was declared unto the Jews by the patriarchs, prophets, shepherds, and the holy word of God, and unto the gentiles

Why a star⁴ appeared at the birth of Christ.

Matt. ii.

[Cicero, de Div. 97, 98.]

Matt. ii.

Col. i.

Ps. viii.

[⁴ A star, 1550; stars, 1560.]

[⁵ A trinity of, 1550; three, 1560.]

Three
opinions
touching
this star.

by this star and his apostles : which star went before the wise and prudent men, till it came and stood over the place where Christ was. What wise man will impute all that Christ did afterward to this star? which, after it had brought the wise men unto him, appeared no more. Do our birth-stars cease to appear after a certain space? Do they stand over the place where we be born, or do they leave their accustomed circuit? Wherefore it is evident, that this star was ordained to preach Christ, and not for fate and destiny; to serve him, and not to force him who cannot be forced; for he worketh what he will in heaven and earth, and all the world is his workmanship. Many doubt whether this star were a true star, or an angel, or the Holy Ghost. I leave every man in this matter to his own judgment, so that his verdict disagree not with the scripture, but edify and instruct the hearer. Nevertheless, I will talk my simple phantasy therein.

Josh. x.
2 Kings xx.

Angels
appear in
divers
shapes.

Exod. iii.

Josh. v.

2 Kings ii.

Gen. xviii.

Judg. xiii.

Rev. i.

If it were a very star, why did he leave his accustomed progress? Or how could he be a guide unto the wise men between Bethleem and Hierusalem, being placed with the other stars in the firmament of heaven? We read, that the sun stood under Josue, and went backward under Ezechias; but never of no star that left his ordained circuit, and wandered as one that loseth his way. Peradventure an angel appeared unto the wise men, in the likeness of a star; for they appear in divers likenesses and shapes. At mount Oreb an angel spake unto Moses out of a bush, in the likeness of fire; and at Galgal, to Josue the son of Nun, like a man of arms. Helias is carried up to heaven in a chariot of fire, and with horses of fire. The chariot and the horse be the angels of God; which be ministering spirits, accomplishing all his commandments. The angels appear unto Abraham and Lot like three wayfaring men. Manue and his wife saw an angel talking with them, as he had been a prophet. So it may well be, that an angel, in the similitude of a star, was a guide to the wise men. For angels are called stars in the scriptures, as in the Revelation of John, *Stellæ septem ecclesiarum angeli*, "The seven stars are the angels of the seven congregations." Other think, that this star was neither angel, nor a material star, but the Holy Spirit, which opened the incarna-

tion of Christ both unto the Jews and to the gentiles; but unto the Jews in the likeness of a dove, and to the gentiles in the shape and similitude of a star; of which Balaam, an astronomer, prophesied long before, *Orietur stella ex Jacob*, "There shall come a star of Jacob;" that Num. xxiv. is, a shining light of the Holy Ghost, the which shall lead the heathen to the knowledge of Christ in the likeness of a star, as he fell upon the apostles in the shape of fire. Acts ii.

This¹ much I have spoken of the star that appeared at the nativity of Christ, because many by it would prove fate and destiny. But what² is fate and destiny? A stedfast and immutable order of causes, whereby all things chance³ of necessity; called in Greek *ειμαρμένη*. True it is, no thing is done without a cause; but yet many things are done⁴ without any necessary cause. For some causes be perfect, and some again be imperfect⁵. Fire causeth heat perfectly, and water cold. But surfeiting causeth sickness, a wound causeth death, study causeth learning, imperfectly: for a man may surfeit, be wounded, and apply his study, and yet neither be sick, needy, ne learned. If all causes were necessary, if⁶ they were, yet I would deny all things to be ruled by necessity, by fate⁷ and destiny; for Almighty God worketh what he will in them⁸. He appeared unto Moses out of a bush in a flame of fire, and yet the bush consumed not. He commanded the fire not to hurt Ananias, Azarias, and Misael; and saved them harmless from the hot burning oven. Did necessity, or⁹ fate and destiny, make Sara and Elizabeth, which were barren and past children, fruitful? Did destiny make Aaron's rod bud, the sun to go backward, a maid to conceive, the blind to see, the deaf to hear, the dead to arise? If Almighty God¹⁰ did

What fate
is.

Perfect
causes.

Imperfect.

Exod. iii.

Dan. iii.

Gen. xvii. &

xviii.

Luke i.

Num. xvii.

Josh. x.

Matt. i.

[¹ This, 1550; thus, 1560.]

[² What is, 1550; what, say they, is, 1560.]

[³ Chance, 1550; are done, 1560.]

[⁴ Are done, 1550; may seem to be done, 1560.]

[⁵ So 1550; some in our judgment again may seem to be, 1560.]

[⁶ If, 1550; but presuppose, 1560.]

[⁷ So 1550; by their necessity of fate, 1560.]

[⁸ Of his good pleasure, added in 1560.]

[⁹ Or, 1550; of, 1560.]

[¹⁰ God did, 1550; God then did, 1560.]

Matt. viii. & ix. all those things, he leaveth not his creatures to their own governance¹, but ruleth them at his pleasure.

Whether a man may lengthen or shorten his own life.

Prov. x.

2 Kings xx.

2 Kings iv.

Luke vii.
John xi.

Acts ix.
Acts xx.

If we be governed by destiny, our life cannot be lengthened ne shortened; for destiny is immutable². Salomon witnesseth of God, that he doth lengthen the life of his, and shorten the life of the wicked, saying, "The fear of the Lord maketh a long life, but the years of the ungodly shall be shortened." There be many examples of this in the bible. The prophet Esay commandeth king Ezechias to "put his household in an order, because he should die out of hand, and not live:" and yet, at his earnest request, God lengthened his life fifteen years. ³[We read how Eliseus the prophet lengthened the years of the son of a Sunammite, a rich woman, restoring him to life. Our Saviour Christ lengthened the life of the only begotten son of a widow, at the city Naim; likewise of Jairus's daughter, [and] of Lazarus. Peter lengthened the life of Dorcas, and Paul of Eutychus. Away therefore with destiny, unless we will deny the resurrection of many. Yea, the physician lengtheneth the life of the patient, whiles he healeth his infirmity. Did not Christ lengthen the days of many, which he made whole from all disease?

Matt. xix.
Exod. xx.

Prov. iii.

But thou wilt say, I myself cannot lengthen my days. If thou can honour thy father and mother, thou mayest lengthen thy life; for that causeth long life; as it is written, "Honour thy father and mother, that thou mayest live long upon the earth." If thou canst keep the commandments of Almighty God, thou mayest increase thy days; for they prolong the days and years of thy life, and bring peace. If thou canst find wisdom, thou mayest prolong thy life; for "upon her right hand is long life, and upon her left hand is riches and honour." Thou wilt deny that we be able to do these things. We be able by God, by his help and

[¹ To their own governance, 1550; to be governed of causes which depend one on another, 1560.]

[² The preceding sentence is omitted in the edition of 1560.]

[³ The passage within brackets, commencing at this place and ending at p. 87, is all omitted in the edition of 1560, and its place supplied thus: "Thus we deny that the creatures are governed by stoical destiny, either in their birth, death, or any of their actions, but only by the providence of God; as the examples of the scriptures concerning the birth of Jacob and Esau, Pharez and Zara, do witness; for—"]

grace, by privilege, not by our own strength and nature ; who sent his Son unto us, to make us able to accomplish his commandments. Is it in the physician to lengthen our lives, and not in us ? Thou wilt not deny but that we may shorten our time ; for it is in our own power to do that is ill, which maketh short life, as David witnesseth, *Viri sanguinum et impii non dimidiabunt dies suos*, "The blood-thirsty and ungodly shall not live half their days." I ask thee, whether the ungodly may become good, and keepers of God's commandments. If they cannot, why are they punished ? If they can, they can prolong their time. For the keeping of his commandments giveth long life, as is proved before sufficiently. I heard a man once move this question, whether a man might kill himself : of whom I asked, whether a man might do evil. If he might do evil, I said, he might do that.

But Job saith, "The days of man be short. The number of his months are known only unto thee." If he know the number of our months, we cannot go beyond them, nor shorten them ; for God is not deceived. He knew likewise that Abel would be his servant, and that Cain would be a murderer ; that Paul would be a faithful minister, and that Judas Iscariot would prove a false traitor. And yet they might have been otherwise. For a vessel of gold may become a vessel of wood, a vessel of silver may become a vessel of earth, a vessel of honour may be a vessel unto dishonour. The first Adam was made a vessel unto honour, and all his offspring in him : but after he had tasted of the apple that was forbidden him, he was no longer a vessel unto honour, but the child of death, that is, a vessel of God's wrath and of dishonour ; and all his posterity likewise, for they sinned in him. But the second Adam hath made us all again vessels of holiness, of sanctification ; washing our sins with hyssop, that is, with his precious blood, and offering his most sweet flesh upon the altar of the cross once for all. Wherefore St Paul crieth, *Si quis emundaverit se ab istis, erit vas in honorem*, "If a man purge himself from such, that is, from sin, he shall be a vessel sanctified unto honour, meet for the Lord, and prepared unto all good works." God, I say, knew before, what Abel and Cain, what Paul and Judas, what all mankind would do ; and yet they might have done otherwise : for also he could not reward the godly, nor punish the ungodly.

Ps. lv.

Job xiv.

God's fore-
knowledge
is no cause
of things.

Even so he foreseeth the time of our life ; and yet we may prolong and shorten the same. I put a case : I know that thou wilt dine to morrow in St John's college at Cambridge, and that thou wilt sup the next day at Rickmansworth ; albeit I know this before, I am not the cause thereof. Even so God's foreknowledge causeth neither long life ne short, albeit nothing be unknown to him. The saying of Job, of which they gather that he hath appointed us our bounds, and that we cannot go beyond them, maketh nothing for the contrary, if it be truly taken. For without God we cannot

lengthen our time ; forsomuch as " we live, move, and be in him," and long life is his gift : but by his help we may, by whom many have prolonged their days. Ezechias by earnest prayer obtained fifteen years, but at the hand of Almighty God, who is the giver of all good gifts, and without whom we can enjoy no good thing. He would not believe that he should recover, because the Lord had spoken it that he should die straightways ; wherefore God used a marvellous sign to persuade him. " He brought the shadow ten degrees backward, by which it had gone down in the dial of Achas." This sign was given, not only for him, but for as many as bear like opinion, thinking that their life cannot be shortened ne prolonged. If there be not a certain time appointed, you will ask me why our Saviour Christ saith, " Mine hour is not yet come ;" and, " There be twelve hours in the day." Christ meaneth not an hour prefixed by fate and destiny, but an hour of his own will, in which he suffered himself to be betrayed and robbed of his life ; as he witnesseth of himself : " No man taketh it from me, but I put it away of myself. I have power to put it from me, and have power to take it again."

What thing is more contrary to God, than fate and destiny ? God saith : " If you will, you shall hearken unto me, you shall eat the fruits of the earth ; but if you will not, nor hear me, the sword shall devour you : the mouth of the Lord speaketh thus." God leaveth in our power to will and to nill, to take and to forsake. But destiny saith : " Thou canst not avoid Lachesis, thou canst not disappoint Clotho, albeit thou would never so earnestly, albeit thou strive continually." God saith : " I have set before thee fire and water, life and death ; stretch thy hand to which thou wilt." But

Acts xvii.

Hezekiah.
Isai. xxxviii.

2 Kings xx.

John ii.
John viii.
John xi.

John x.

Isai. i.

Lachesis.
Clotho.

Ecclus. xv.

destiny saith: "It is not in thee to stretch forth thy hand; for thou art governed, thou art led, and forced by the influence of the stars." Experience doth teach us that this is false; for destiny doth not change, and yet many things are changed. Abraham first was an idolater; but afterward, Abraham. being justified by faith, he became the servant of God. Zaccheus also forsook his sinful living, and walked after the spirit. St Paul first was a cruel enemy to God's word; but after he became a chosen vessel, and an earnest preacher of the same. If these things chanced by destiny, then destiny was altered; and destiny is not destiny which is im-
[Plin. Hist. Nat. Lib. xiv. c. 13.]
 mutable. Among the ancient Romans women were forbidden to drink wine; but now they gull it in continually. Is destiny changed? Many cities banish astronomers, and punish such as teach necessity. If necessity govern all things, it causeth also this. If it do so, then destiny is against itself. We read that Crassus was called Agolastus, because he laughed but once in all his life. Junius was named Brutus, because he feigned folly for the safeguard of his life. In the time of Constantine, one Samatius feigned himself to be a fool thirty year, to be in the presence of the emperor. What rule beareth destiny, when every man did what he would? Truly, free will denieth that she hath any thing ado with man. If she govern man, why have twins unlike fortune? Procles and Eurysthenes, two kings of the Lacedemonians, were born both at one burthen, and yet they had several fortunes; for Procles was both of shorter life, and of more famous memory. If thou delight in examples of scripture, the notable birth of Jacob and Esau doth confute destiny, and destroy the influence of the stars; for they were born both at one time, in one place, of one woman, by one man; and yet they were as unlike as fire and water, as light and darkness, as black and white. So were Pharez and Zara, two twins; also the children of Judas by his daughter Thamar. These examples declare destiny, and the influence¹ of the stars, to be but a fable. Yea, they fortify God's providence; teaching him to be a giver of divers graces, unlike fortunes, and several blessings. I grant, that an astronomer may tell, by the observation of the stars, to what occupation, to what estate of life, every man is most feat, most apt by

[Plin. Hist. Nat. Lib. xiv. c. 13.]

Astronomers banished.

Crassus. [Plin. Hist. Nat. Lib. vii. c. 19.] Brutus. [Dion. Halicarn. Antiq. Rom. Lib. iv. c. 68.] Samatius.

Twins.

Procles. Eurysthenes.

Gen. xxv.

Gen. xxxviii.

[¹ The influence, 1550; and influence, 1560.]

nature. But that he can tell man's fortune by any of his art or cunning, I deny utterly. For our life is not ruled by the moving of the stars, but by God's providence, who worketh all things in heaven and earth.

Gen. ii.
How God is
said to have
rested the
seventh day.
Gen. ii.

How then is that true, which is written in the book of Generation, *Completvit Deus die septimo opus suum, et requievit ab universo opere, &c.* "He finished and he rested the seventh day from all his works"? God rested the seventh day from the works of creation; from forming of new creatures, but not from governing of them.

The carpenter, after he hath finished the house, meddleth no more therewith. If God should do so, all creatures would perish. If man's body can live without quickening of the soul, the world may continue without his providence. For he is that to¹ the world that the soul is to the body; and more necessary to the governance of it, than the soul to the governance of the body; forasmuch as he is the maker both of soul and body. Thou must not imagine that God was weary with six days' labour, because he is said to have rested the seventh day; who made all things, and governeth them without labour, and rested without weariness. For resting signifieth ending. In the seventh day God rested from all his works: that is, he ended, he finished the creation of the world. Why then doth not the scripture say he ended all his works, but that he rested from them? Truly, not without an urgent cause. For God is said to have rested from all his works, which he made exceeding good; for because he will give us rest and quietness from our travail, if we will do all good works, as he made all things exceeding good. This phrase of speaking is used much in the scripture; as of the apostle: "*We know not what to desire as we ought;*" *Spiritus intercedit pro nobis gemitibus inenarrabilibus*, "but the Spirit maketh intercession mightily for us, with groanings which cannot be expressed with tongue." The Holy Ghost doth not groan, but maketh us to groan, and lament our sins; nor make intercession, but stirreth us unto prayer. Moses useth the same manner of speaking unto the Israelites, saying: "The Lord your God tempteth you, to know whether you love him." God doth not tempt his, to know any thing thereby, who knoweth all things; but to make them

Rom. viii.

Deut. xiii.

[¹ That to, 1550; is to, 1560.]

to know how much they love him. He crieth unto Abraham, "Now I know that thou fearest God, in that thou hast not Gen. xxi. spared thine only son for my sake:" that is, I have made thee to know. So he is said to have rested, because he will make us to rest with him in glory, if we endeavour ourselves to follow him in goodness, who made nothing but it was good. Wherefore this resting of God doth rather establish his providence, than make against it; declaring him to be mindful of good men, and to have prepared them a resting place where they shall behold his glorious countenance evermore. For he is called in Latin *Deus*, in Greek Θεός, ἀπὸ τοῦ θεέν, which word signifieth to *run*; because he hasteth unto every place, to govern and order all creatures.

THE SIXTEENTH CHAPTER.

God only knoweth all things.

As we be sufficiently taught, that God is the worker of Wisd. xix. all things; so, if we search the scriptures, we shall find that he only knoweth all things, and is ignorant of nothing; as Jesus the Son of Sirach witnesseth, "The Lord knoweth Eccles. xlii. all science." "The knowledge of men is imperfect, and in- Wisd. ix. creaseth by diligence; for the mortal and corruptible body is heavy unto the soul, and our earthly mansion keepeth down understanding; so that we cannot perfectly judge of earthly things, much less of heavenly matters." Angels have a more plentiful knowledge than we, and yet they be igno- Mark xiii. rant of many things, as of the last day and hour, which the Father knoweth only. But God knoweth all things per- 1 Kings ii. fectly; who is the Lord of knowledge; "whose wisdom can Wisd. viii. tell things that are past, and discern things to come." The works of all flesh are before him, and there is nothing hid from his eyes. "His wisdom knoweth the subtlety of words, Eccles. xlii. and can expound dark sentences." "He seeketh out the ground of the heart, and understandeth all imagination.

- No thought may escape him, neither may any word be hid from him." He called unto Adam, and said unto him,
- Gen. iii. *Adam, ubi es*, "where art thou?"—not because he was ignorant, but to teach him what he had lost, and to move him unto earnest repentance for his sin. After like sort he
- Gen. iv. asketh¹ Cain, "Where is Abel thy brother?"—not for to learn that he knew not, but for to punish and dismay him. The scripture telleth, that *penituit Deum quod hominem fecisset in terra*: "God repented that he had made man upon the earth, and sorrowed in his heart;" who repenteth also of making Saul king of the Israelites. He is said to repent, not that he is ignorant of things to come, who foresaw that Saul and all mankind would become abominable; but, when we change and go astray from him, or return to him, and are either punished for our sin, or rewarded of his mercy. After the first sort, he repented of making mankind; of making disobedient Saul king; and of the choosing of the Jews, who once were the people of God, and now the members of antichrist. After the other sort, the heathen are become the worshippers of God, through the favourable regard of Jesus Christ; which once were the sons of wrath, and the sheep going astray. Through it, the traitor Judas lost his apostleship, and is justly damned in hell; and the thief, after great robbery, is delivered from the cross, and mercifully crowned in paradise. This change from good to ill, or from ill to good, which is done by the secret and most rightful judgments of Almighty God, in the scripture is called his repentance; and the change is in us, and not in him. David, a man according to God's heart's desire, witnesseth of him, saying: "The generation which is to come shall be told to the Lord, they shall tell his righteousness." He doth not say: The Lord shall be told to the generation; but, "the generation to the Lord." Of which words we cannot gather that anything is told God whereof he is ignorant, that he may know it; but that he is told that which he knoweth already; as the angels tell unto him our prayers and alms deeds, and as we shew God our griefs, and what we desire, in our prayers. Raphael, one of the seven angels that stand before God, saith unto
- Tobit xii. Toby, "I have offered thy prayer before the Lord:"

[¹ Asketh, 1550; asked, 1560.]

whereby is meant, that they be ministering spirits for their ^{Heb. i.} sakes which shall be heirs of salvation; not, that God learneth our need by them, who knoweth what is necessary ^{Matt. vi.} for us, before we ask it of him. Nevertheless, he willet us to ask, that we may receive; as it is written, "Ask, ^{Matt. vii. Luke xi.} and it shall be given you. Every one that asketh, receiveth; and he that seeketh, findeth; and to him that knocketh, it shall be opened."

After this sort St Paul is to be taken, saying, *Petitiones vestrae innotescant apud Deum*, "Let your requests be known unto God." Why dost thou marvel, that God is shewed that he knoweth; seeing that men oftentimes are told of other, that which they knew before? If thou mislike this exposition, hear another. These words, "The generation to come shall be told the Lord," be as much to say as, "The Lord shall be praised in it." For, "To tell unto the Lord," is to praise, knowledge, and magnify him; as, "To live unto the Lord," "To eat unto the Lord." St Paul expoundeth "eating to the Lord," to be giving of thanks, and praising him when thou eatest, saying: "He that eateth, ^{Rom. xiv.} doth it to the Lord, for he giveth God thanks." If doing to the Lord be giving of thanks, as St Paul declareth, saying, "He doth it to the Lord, for he giveth thanks;" then of necessity, telling to the Lord is thanking of him, forasmuch as all telling is doing.

We read of the Son of God, in the Revelation of John, that "He hath eyes like the flame of fire, and on his head ^{Rev. xix.} many crowns, and a name written, that none knew but he himself." If none knew it but he himself, the Father knoweth it not: whereof followeth, that God knoweth not all things. To this I answer, because the Father and Christ ^{John x.} be one, that the Father knoweth it, forasmuch as Christ knoweth it. Nor the text doth not exclude the Father from the knowledge thereof, saying, "None know² it but he himself;" for the Latin is, *Nemo scit*, that is, "No man knoweth." Moreover, this saying, "No man knoweth it, but he himself," teacheth us, that only his divinity knoweth it, not his humanity; for that is excluded by these words, "No man knoweth it." But Christ's divinity is the Father's divinity, who both are all one by nature, not

[² Know, 1550; knoweth, 1560.]

by person: wherefore, that which Christ knoweth, the Father knoweth also. This text doth not diminish the Father's knowledge; but rather establisheth only God to know all things, saying, that only he himself knoweth this name. Where by these words, "he himself," we are compelled to understand the divinity, the nature, and majesty of God, to know it only; and Christ's humanity to be ignorant of it, which also doth not know the last day.

THE SEVENTEENTH CHAPTER.

God only forgiveth sin: our pardoning, what it is: the loosing and binding of ministers.

Isai. xlv. HE is said also only to forgive sin; "who driveth away our offences like the clouds, and misdeeds as the mists." The Lord saith: "I am even he only, that for mine own self's sake do away thine offences, and forget thy sins." The unfaithful Jews acknowledge this; laying blasphemy to our Saviour Christ's charge, because he said to one sick of the palsy, "Son, thy sins are forgiven thee." Likewise, when he forgiveth many sins to Mary Magdalene in the house of Simon, because she loved much, they ask "who he is, which forgiveth sins also." The stiffnecked Jews found fault with Christ in forgiving of sins, because they believed not him to be God; to whom that only belongeth, and to no creature. "For who can forgive sins, but God only?" They should rather have gathered him to be very God, than a blasphemer; forasmuch as he proveth this to belong unto him upon the earth, restoring strength and health unto the sick man, to carry his bed home, whence he was brought of four men. When he saith of Mary Magdalene washing his feet with tears, and wiping them with her hairs, *Remittuntur ei peccata multa, quoniam dilexit multum*, "Many sins are forgiven her, because she loved much," we may not think that love causeth remission of sins, but that remission of sins causeth love. For that our love followeth, and goeth not

before, Christ declareth in the same place, saying, "He that hath much forgiven, loveth more; and to whom less is forgiven, he loveth less." Doth not Christ here manifestly teach, that God's forgiving engendereth in us much love, or little? If we examine the circumstance of the place, and ponder it diligently, we shall find it to be no otherwise. Simon, who bade Christ unto his house, is offended that Mary Magdalene touched Christ; and marvelleth that he will suffer a miss-woman to be so homely with him, as to wash his feet and anoint them. Christ therefore said unto him, "Many sins are forgiven her, because she loveth much: to whom less is forgiven, he loveth less." As if he should say: "Simon, thou art offended, that I let a sinful woman touch me. Be no more offended. She is no longer a sinful woman; for I have forgiven her many sins; and because many sins are forgiven her, she loveth much. 'For he, to whom much is forgiven, loveth more.' Wherefore marvel not that I let an honest woman, which hath her sins forgiven her, and therefore loveth me greatly, touch me: marvel not that I let a penitent woman wash my feet, wipe them with her hairs, and anoint the same."

I would the clergy and laity would wash Christ. What is that? Truly, to be penitent for their ill living, to mourn, to weep, to lament their covetousness and greedy ambition, their pluralities of personages, non-residences, farming of benefices, tot-quotes, negligence in their vocations, and absence from their cures. *Vae mihi, quia tacui*: "Woe be unto me for holding my peace." All men and women, yea kings, queens, lords, and ladies, follow good Mary Magdalene in this point; and cry not, call not unto her, "Pray for us, pray for us." But the devil is crafty. He maketh us omit to follow the saints, for which their lives were written; and persuadeth us by his ministers, which be heretics, to pray unto saints, which cannot help us. This is the true meaning of these words; not that her love went before, to deserve, or to be a cause of, remission of sins; but that she might honestly wash Christ, whom she loved much for her sins pardoned. The parable of two debtors declareth this to be true; by which Christ proveth unto Simon the great love that she bare unto him. For if the debtor, to whom the creditor forgiveth five hundred ducats, loveth him better

God's remission
goeth before
our love.

To wash
Christ.

than he to whom he forgiveth but fifty; then Mary loved Christ heartily, who blotted out all her sins. Do not the debtors love the creditor because of his liberality? Even so, Mary was not forgiven through the merit of her love; but she loved, because she was forgiven. Christ witnesseth, that the creditor forgave his debtors, when they had nothing to pay. What is this, but that Almighty God pardoneth our sins, not for any crumb of love in us, but of his tender and gracious favour? For we are the debtors, and he is the liberal creditor.

But how shall we answer the phrase of scripture which saith, that "many sins were forgiven her, because she loved much?" Do we not use to say, Summer is nigh, because the trees blossom? And yet the blossoming of the trees doth not cause summer, but summer causeth them. So winter causeth cold, and not cold winter: and yet we complain of winter, because it is so cold. So we say, the tree is good, because the fruit is good. But Christ, teaching his disciples to pray, willeth them to ask pardon of God as they pardon other. For if we forgive other men their trespasses, our heavenly Father will also forgive us. Wherefore it is not a thing belonging only to God. Man is said to forgive his neighbour; not by pardoning the everlasting punishment, which is the reward of all sin, and is pardoned neither of thy neighbour, ne yet of priest, but of God alone; but by refraining his anger, by pacifying himself, by assuaging his fury. St Paul sheweth what our forgiving is, saying: "Let not the sun go down upon your wrath." "He that seeketh vengeance," saith the preacher, "shall find vengeance of the Lord." To seek vengeance is not to forgive thy neighbour. But this vengeance is nothing but a displeasure in this life: wherefore, to forgive is to seek no vengeance in this life. We have nothing ado with the other life. After this sort Christ commandeth the Jews, when they offer any gift at the altar, if they be out with their brethren, first to labour a reconciliation; and then to offer. After this sort St Peter is charged to forgive his brother, sinning against him, not only seven times, but seventy times seven times. This commandment belongeth also unto us; for St Peter asketh Christ in the name of the congregation. God only forgiveth the punishment which is prepared for the devil and

Matt. vi.
How we do
forgive one
another.
Rom. vi.

Eph. iv.

Ecclus.
xxviii.

Matt. v.

Matt. xviii.

his angels, and for ill-living men; as he only crowneth such as he forgiveth. Of whom is it spoken, but of God only. "The Lord killeth, and maketh alive; bringeth down to hell, and fetcheth up again"? 1 Sam. ii.

Some also reason of this place in the Lord's prayer, that we must forgive first, and then ask forgiveness of God; perverting the true meaning thereof. Christ, teaching us to pray for pardon of our trespasses, as we forgive them that trespass against us, meaneth not, that by forgiving we merit or deserve remission of our misdeeds, for we be all debtors unto God, some of five hundred pence, and some of fifty, and have nothing to pay. No: rather he certifieth our weak faith by these words, and biddeth us to be as¹ well assured that God forgiveth us, as we be sure that we forgive other; making our pardoning a sign, a token, that God pardoneth us, and not a cause thereof. For except God forgive us first, and pour the dew of his blessing upon us, our nature will not forgive, but revenge and punish. The example of the servant which ought his master ten thousand talents, who was first forgiven the whole debt, and after imprisoned because he forgave not his fellow, maketh nothing against this interpretation. For he was first released and pardoned; but afterward, when he would not pardon his fellow, he became a debtor unto God again, and was thrown into prison. For when thou sayest, "Forgive me, as I forgive them that trespass against me," thou makest a promise to God, if he be merciful to thee, to be merciful unto thy brother. The which thing if thou do, ascertain thyself, that God hath melted thy sins, as the fire doth the wax; and let thy doing be a token unto thy conscience, that thou art in his favour. This is the cause why Christ taught his to pray thus; not that our remission deserveth any thing at God's hand, who giveth us all things through Christ, in whose name whatsoever we ask, we shall have it. He that asketh forgiveness of God, and cannot enforce his heart to forgive his brother, let him think that he hath asked, but not received, because he asked amiss; and that he rather kindleth God's wrath and indignation against him, than pacify it.

For he deserveth forgiveness, as he forgiveth. If he

[¹ Be as well, 1550; be well, 1560.]

God's remission
worth before
our pardon-
ing.

cannot find in his heart to forgive his fellow, but layeth hand on him, and taketh him by the throat, and casteth him into prison, let him think that God will deliver him likewise unto the jailer for breaking his promise, till payment be made. For sin is called debt in scripture, because a punishment is due for it. For this cause we are commanded to ask forgiveness, as we forgive; that it may be a seal unto us, a token, and a certificate, of God's mercy and favour, or of his displeasure and anger. This I have spoken, partly constrained by my matter, and partly, because Stephen Winchester straineth this place for the justification of works.

How ministers do forgive and retain sin.

Matt. xvi.

Rom. iv.

Who is forgiven, and when.¹

Matt. viii.
Luke v.

John xi.

As every private man forgiveth his brother, so much more the ministers of God's word have power to do the same, for to them belongeth forgiving and retaining, binding and loosing of the whole congregation. To them Christ gave the keys of the kingdom of heaven. How then doth God only forgive sin? Truly, they are only ministers of the forgiveness, and preachers of his mercy, or of his wrath. Their forgiving and loosing is to declare the sweet and comfortable promises that are made through Jesus Christ in God's book to such as be penitent; and their binding and retaining is to preach the law, which causeth anger to such as be impenitent. Or, their loosing is to declare before the congregation, that God forgiveth the believing; and their binding is to shew, that God will not pardon the unbelieving, because they are without purpose to amend and reform their livings. The common sort suppose, that God forgiveth them, as soon as the minister layeth his hands upon their heads, although they return to their old living. Be not deceived. Except thou repent, he hath no authority to forgive thee; for he is a minister of forgiveness only to such as repent and will amend. His commission stretcheth no further. If thou, from the bottom of thy heart, be sorry for thy trespass, if thou be without all desire to sin, if thou earnestly mind to amend, God forgiveth thee before thou come at the minister; who first cleansed the man from leprosy, and after commanded him to shew him to the priest, for a witness to the congregation. So he raised Lazarus first, and afterward bade his disciples loose his grave-bonds. As the priest of the old law made

[¹ This is not in the Edition of 1550.]

the lepers clean or unclean; so bindeth and unbindeth, forgive and retaineth, curseth and blesseth, the ministers of the new law. They put the name of God upon the people, Num. vi. but he only doth bless them: they minister the sacrament of forgiveness, but he only doth forgive; as St Paul fortifieth unto the Corinthians, saying: "Neither is he that planteth 1 Cor. iii. any thing, neither he that watereth; but God which giveth the increase." As an ambassador maketh peace with a strange king, to whom he is sent with a message, but they which bear witness of the peace make it not; no more do they forgive sin, but be witnesses thereof, that God pardoneth them through the ambassage of Jesus Christ, who is our high ambassador. Acts i. Acts ii. Wherefore Paul calleth the preaching of the glad tidings of the gospel, ministration of the 2 Cor. iii. spirit and righteousness; and he nameth the preaching of the law, ministration of death and damnation: by which two he meaneth nothing else but loosing and binding; as he teacheth us, binding and loosing him that held his father's 1 Cor. v. wife.

The Anabaptists and Donatists teach, that evil ministers Against the Anabaptists. John ix. cannot loose, because God saith that he heareth no sinners. I grant, that God heareth not their prayers. Yet the sin of the minister doth not disannul the sweet promises, which are made to such as repent and believe Christ. Be he good or bad, God performeth the words spoken of him, not presuming beyond his commission. Doth God's mercy depend of the goodness of the minister? Then our faith cannot be stedfast and sure, but wavering and uncertain; forasmuch as no man can discern who is a good minister; for he that seemeth good may be an hypocrite. The scribes and Pharisees were evil ministers; and yet were we commanded to believe them, "whatsoever they say, sitting in Moses' Matt. xxiii. seat;" that is, 'as long as they teach Moses, and not their own inventions.' Sacraments be seals. Doth not the seal make like print, whether it be of gold, silver, or iron? If it seal deeper or shallower, that which is sealed is cause thereof, not the stuff. So the difference is in them which come to the minister, and not in the ministration of good or evil, which both make one print; for ministration is a seal. Why doth Paul rebuke the Corinthians, because one 1 Cor. iii. said he held of Paul, another said he was of Apollo, but

because they thought the virtue of the sacraments to hang of the worthiness of the minister? If their worthiness or unworthiness make the sacraments effectual or not, then, of two good, the more worthy maketh them more effectual: and it were better to be christened of John, than of Thomas of Ind; better to be sent of Cephas, than of Timothe; better to receive the communion at Paul's hand, than of Apollo. But their ministration differeth not. And we are forbidden to rejoyce in men; for "neither he that planteth is any thing, neither he that watereth." Wherefore all hangeth of God, who giveth the increase, who only forgiveth sin; and not of the worthiness or unworthiness of the minister.

What the
key is.
Matt. xvi.

Against
Peter's
supremacy.

John xx.

Matt. xx.

John vi.

Matt. xvii.

Rom. xv.

Luke xii.

Matt. x.

Matt. xvii.

Acts viii.

Acts xi.

Acts i.

The key, which Christ promised unto Peter, saying, *Tibi dabo claves regni caelorum*, "To thee I will give the keys of the kingdom of heaven," (who answered in that behalf of all, as all were asked,) is God's holy word, wherewith the minister bindeth and unbindeth us, as the key doth shut and open the door. The papists expound the keys to signify a general authority and supremity, granted unto Peter above the other apostles and all kings; the which now they give to their great sire of Rome, as to the only successor of Peter. To these I answer, that Christ gave none of his apostles further authority than he had himself. For when he sendeth them, he saith: "As my father sent me, so I send you." Wherefore was he sent? "Not to be ministered unto, but to minister" unto other. The people would have made him their king and head, but he refused it. He paid tribute to Cæsar at Capernaum. He was a minister of circumcision many years. He saith unto him which desired part of his brother's inheritance, "Who made me a judge or divider over you?" Wherefore the keys be no temporal authority. Hath the disciple a further authority than his master? Or is the servant above his lord? Christ commandeth Peter to pay tribute unto Cæsar; to put up his sword: who, in the Acts, sendeth not other, but he himself is sent of the apostles, to lay hands upon them in Samaria which believed through the preaching of Philip; and he is asked account afterward, why he went and eat with the uncircumcised. He appointeth no man in the room of Judas, but all the apostles chose two indifferently, and cast lots, beseeching God to temper them, that the lot

might fall on the most ablest. Wherefore he was not head of apostles, kings, and emperors, but a fellow minister; as he witnesseth of himself, saying, "I exhort the ministers ^{1 Pet. v.} among you, which am their fellow minister."

Albertus Pighius¹, the bishop of Rome's chief knight in his controversy of the congregation, perverteth the scriptures to prove that Christ, at his departing, made him head of the church and general shepherd of his flock. First, touching the keys, he saith that the civil lawyers with the keys give possession of house, borough, town, and city. As, for an example, king Henry the eighth, of most famous memory, was made lord of Bulloin, when they delivered the keys thereof to his majesty. Moreover, Christ commonly calleth his church *regnum*, "a kingdom or monarchy." 'If it be a kingdom,' ^{Matt. iii. iv. x.} saith Pighius, 'one must be head thereof, not many: for that ^{Luke x.} is a kingdom, where one governeth. If one must be head, who is that but he and his successors, that had the keys of the kingdom given him?' These be reasons of deceitful vanity, and after the ordinances of the world, and not after Christ; of which St Paul warneth the Colossians to take ^{Col. ii.}

[Et tibi, inquit, dabo claves regni cœlorum. Quod regnum cœlorum hoc loco intelligat ecclesiam suam, indubitatum est, ut quam bis decies in evangelio regnum cœlorum appellat. Porro in clavium traditione, ex more civili, traditur domus, castri, aut civitatis gubernandæ autoritas: et qui vel ecclesiæ alicujus, vel domus, castri, civitatis, possessione et gubernandi eandem autoritate investiantur, ut hoc cum clavium traditione acceptioneque fiat, etiam in hodiernum diem usus retinet. Hoc est ergo, quod illis verbis Christus sub omnium apostolorum præsentia significavit, uni Petro se traditurum autoritatem gubernandi suum regnum aut ecclesiam; quam ubique regnum dicens, etiam hoc innuit, variis officiorum magistratuumque ordinibus ad unum rectorem necessario ordinatam eandem esse oportere, quod perficiendum suis apostolis reliquit. Has claves, hanc autoritatem, quam hic promisit, gubernandi regnum suum et ecclesiam, post resurrectionem suam, jamjam ascensurus ad patrem, tunc dedit Petro, cum eidem terna, ut diximus, commissione ejusdem curam mandavit et regimen. Quæ autem hujus ipsius autoritatis esset energia et efficacia, consequenter explicare pergens, Quodcunque, inquit, in hoc regno meo super terram ligaveris præceptionum tuarum vinculis, hoc ipsum ita alligatum habebitur a Deo et in cœlis; et quodcunque solveris, solutum. Nihil distinguit, nihil excipit omnium; sed quodcunque illud fuerit, quod Petro, aut qui ejus inter nos gerit officium et locum tenet, videbitur ligare aut constituere, ad hoc ipsum obligatos nos ille affirmat coram Deo. Pighius, Controvers. Præcipuar. Explicatio, fol. 98 b. Edit. Paris. 1549.]

heed. Among lawyers, possession and dominions is given by the key. But we must learn what the key is, of him that gave it, and not of lawyers; who telleth us what the key is, saying, "Woe be to you lawyers; for ye have taken away that key of knowledge." Where no man can deny, but that by the key of knowledge God's word is meant and signified; which is the only key given to the apostles. This is the key wherewith the ministers are commanded to loose and to bind, to forgive and retain¹, to bless and to curse. The bishop of Rome, loosing and justifying men through traditions and ceremonies, and not with the key of God's word, hath not Peter's key, but a picklock; of which he boasteth himself to be head of the church. This key is the two testaments, which Christ commanded his apostles to preach to all nations. And because there be two testaments, he calleth them 'keys.' "For every scribe of this kingdom bringeth forth of his treasure things both new and old." New things; that is, the sweet tidings of the gospel, to unbind us: and old things; that is, the old testament and Moses' law, to bind us. And every minister hath this key, as well as Peter.

Luke xi.

Matt. xiii.

Matt. xxviii.

1 Pet. v.
Matt. xvi.Who is the
rock.

If Peter be head of the church because it is a kingdom, and scriptures are to be expounded after the law and ordinances of the world, then Peter's son should have been head after his father; or, if he had no son, the next of his kindred, not the pope: for in all kingdoms the son, or the next of the kindred, is heir to the crown. But neither Peter, nor the pope, be heads thereof, nor no other upon the earth; but the everlasting Jesus Christ, who needeth no heir, who hath promised to be present with his congregation unto the world's end; who nameth his congregation a kingdom, not that he made Peter lord over us, or the pope, but because he is Lord, and we have promised obedience unto him. Peter calleth him our chief shepherd, and forbiddeth priests to be lords over the parishes. The pope saith, that Peter is the rock upon which the congregation is founded; and then he will be Peter's heir, because Peter was once at Rome. But the scriptures, which are the true touchstone to examine all interpretations by, teach us that Christ is the rock, and not Peter, when he saith unto Christ, "Thou art the Son of the living God," and is answered, "Thou art Peter, and upon

[¹ And retain, 1550; and to retain, 1560.]

this rock I will build my congregation." These words, "upon this rock," are not to be understand of Peter, who was so inconstant that he denied his master thrice, but of Christ, who is the Son of the living God: as St Paul teacheth us, saying, *Petra autem erat Christus*, that is, "Christ was the rock;" ^{1 Cor. x.} whom in another place he calleth our foundation, and saith, "No man can lay another foundation." If no man can lay ^{1 Cor. iii.} another foundation, then Peter is not the foundation. The scriptures use to liken Christ and the congregation to a bridegroom and his wife: for he is called the bridegroom, and the church is called his spouse. Wherefore St Paul maketh ^{Eph. v.} matrimony a high mystery. The husband appointeth no other to be head over his wife, but he only is her head: for else she should be under two heads. No more doth Christ over the congregation; to which he is only husband, and a jealous husband. If Peter be general head, and the pope after him, the congregation is married to many husbands, and hath many heads, contrary to the order of honourable wedlock.

Christ only is the door, the way, the truth, and the life; ^{John x.} the true vine. So he only is the rock and foundation, in whom ^{John xiv.} every building coupled together groweth up to an holy tem- ^{John xv.} ple in the Lord: as St Peter witnesseth, calling him a living ^{Eph. ii.} and head corner-stone, disallowed of men, but chosen of God; refused of the builders, and upholding the building that it fall not flat upon the ground. In the same place Peter calleth Christ the rock, and not himself; if you look for the self same word. But the papists reply, that we all, as living ^{1 Pet. ii.} stones, are made a spiritual house by Christ. Why then, say they, may not Peter be the stone whom Christ named ^{John i.} Cephas; which is, by interpretation, a stone? This text granteth other to be the stone, as well as Peter: for it is generally spoken of all christian men. If thou be not a stone, thou hast no fellowship with Christ. He named Peter *Cephas*, that is, "a stone," because when he believed him to be Messiah, he became a stone of the congregation: as he gave *Boanerges* to name, which is, "The sons of thunder," to James and John; not that they were to be thundered and preached, but that they should be earnest preachers of God's word. Andrew bringeth him to Christ, in whom he believed through his preaching. Christ welcomed him with

Why Peter
was named
Cephas, a
stone.

most sweet words, saying: "Thou art Simon, the son of Jonas; thou shalt be called *Cephas*, which is, by interpretation, a stone." What meaneth Christ by these words but this? "Simon, before thou wast the son of Jonas," that is, "the son of death, as thy father¹ was; thou shalt no more be so, but a stone of my congregation, for which I am come to suffer, because thou believest in me." This is Christ's meaning; not that Peter is the stone whereon we be builded, but a stone of the building, a sheep which is lost and recovered again, a member of his congregation. Christ only is the stone whereon the building is founded. We are small stones of the building founded on him. He only is the rock, which saveth his church from rain, floods, and the winds, from hell gates, from sin and death; as he teacheth us, saying, "He that heareth my word, and doth thereafter, is like a man that buildeth² on a rock." Some may understand this text otherwise; that Christ called Peter a stone, not that he only is that, but in the behalf of the whole congregation.

Matt. vii.

Why Christ
biddeth
Peter thrice,
"Feed my
sheep."
John xxi.

If Peter were not head of the church, why doth Christ ask him thrice, *Petre, amas me?* 'whether he loved him?' and command him only thrice to feed his sheep? Lo, saith the Romanists, here is he made head of the church: here Christ, going to his Father, committeth the congregation to his governance. This place doth not establish Peter's supremacy, but rather deny it; forasmuch as Christ giveth him no commandment, no authority, but such as belongeth to all the apostles; bidding him shew his love in feeding his flock, and preaching him: for no man will preach him whom he loveth not. Doth not he give like commandment to all the apostles, saying, "Go and preach throughout all the world, and to all creatures?" Then why doth he ask Peter only thrice, and command him thrice, and not the other? He asked him thrice, because he denied him thrice; that his three nays might be recompensed with three confessions. St Augustine saith³ upon

Mark xvi.

Augustine.

[¹ Father, 1550; fathers, 1560.]

[² Buildeth, 1550; builded, 1560.]

[³ Sed prius Dominus quod sciebat interrogat, nec semel, sed iterum ac tertio, utrum Petrus eum diligit; nec aliud totiens audit a Petro, quam se diligi; nec aliud totiens commendat Petro, quam suas oves pasci. Redditur negationi triæ trina confessio, ne minus amoris lingua

this place, "Three confessions are required for three nays; that the tongue might do as much for love, as it had done for fear." And Cyril⁴ saith the same. They expound it Cyril. thus; not for Peter's primacy.

But I will speak this more plainly. Christ did ask and command Peter thrice, for two causes: the one was, that by his confession the rest of the apostles should know that he was restored into favour again, from which he had fallen: the other is, that all men might learn by Peter, what thing is most necessary in a preacher; which is, that he love him entirely and heartily whom he preacheth. Paul, speaking of ministers, saith, "It is required of them that they be found faithful:" but who is faithful to him whom

What is most necessary in a preacher.

¹ Cor. iv.

serviat quam timori, et plus vocis elicuisse videatur mors imminens, quam vita præsens. Sit amoris officium, pascere Dominicum gregem; si fuit timoris indicium, negare pastorem. Qui hoc animo pascunt oves Christi, ut suas velint esse, non Christi, se convincuntur amare, non Christum; vel gloriandi, vel dominandi, vel acquirendi cupiditate, non obediendi et subveniendi et Deo placendi caritate. Augustin. in Johan. Evang. Tract. cxxiii. Opera iii. 817. Edit. Paris. 1679—1700.]

[⁴ Οἶμαι δὲ ἔγωγε (χρῆναι γὰρ ὄντως φημί καὶ τὴν κεκρυμμένην ἐν τούτοις διερευνησθαι διάνοιαν) οὐκ εἰκῇ γεγράφθαι καὶ ταῦτα, ὡδίνει δέ τι πάλιν ὁ λόγος, καὶ τῶν προκειμένων ὁ νοῦς ἔχει τι πάντως τὸ ἐνδομυχῶν. Ἡ γὰρ οὐκ ἐρεῖ τις εὐλόγως, μόνον ἔρωτᾷ τὸν Σίμωνα, καίτοι τῶν ἄλλων παρεστώτων μαθητῶν, διὰ ποίαν αἰτίαν; τί δ' ἂν βούλοιο δηλοῦν τὸ "Βόσκε τὰ ἀρνία μου," καὶ τὰ τούτοις ἀδελφά; Φαμέν οὖν, ὅτι κεχειροτόνητο μὲν ἦδη πρὸς τὴν θεῖαν ἀποστολὴν ὁμοῦ τοῖς ἐτέροις μαθηταῖς ὁ θεσπέσιος Πέτρος. Αὐτὸς γὰρ αὐτοὺς ὁ κύριος ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦς ὁ Χριστὸς ἀποστόλους ἀνόμασε κατὰ τὸ γεγραμμένον. Ἐπειδὴ δὲ πραχθῆναι συμβέβηκε τὰ τῆς Ἰουδαίων ἐπιβουλῆς, καὶ τι μεταξὺ διεπταίσθη, καὶ γέγονεν, (ἀκράτῃ γὰρ δείματι καταληφθεὶς ὁ θεσπέσιος Πέτρος ἡρνήσατο τρίς τὸν Κύριον,) θεραπεύει τὸ πεπονηθὸς, καὶ ἀνταπαιτεῖ ποικίλως τὴν εἰς τρίτον ὁμολογίαν, ἀντίσταθμον ὥσπερ ἐκείνῃ τούτῳ τιθεῖς, καὶ ἀντίρροπον, τοῖς πταίσμασιν ἐξαρτῶν τὴν ἐπανόρθωσιν. Τὸ γὰρ λόγῳ διαπταισθὲν καὶ ἐν ψυλοῖς ἔχον ῥήμασι τῶν ἐγκλημάτων τὴν δύναμιν, κατὰ τὸν ἴσον δοίη τις ἂν ἀπολύνεσθαι τρόπον.—Οὐκοῦν διὰ μὲν τῆς εἰς τρίτον ὁμολογίας τοῦ μακαρίου Πέτρου τὸ ἐν τριπλῷ γεγονὸς εἰς ἀπάρνησιν κατηργήθη πλημμέλημα. Διὰ δὲ τοῦ φάναι τὸν Κύριον, "Βόσκε τὰ ἀρνία μου," ἀνανέωσις ὥσπερ τις τῆς ἦδη δοθείσης ἀποστολῆς αὐτῷ γενέσθαι νοεῖται, τὸν μεταξὺ λύουσα τῶν πταισμάτων ὀνειδισμόν, καὶ πὴν ἐκ τῆς ἀνθρωπίνης ἀσθενείας μικροψυχίαν ἐξαφανίζουσα. Cyril. Comment. in Joan. Evang. Lib. xii. Opera iv. 1118. Edit. Paris. 1638.]

he loveth not? Moreover, diligence is required in a preacher, as St Paul teacheth his beloved son Timothe: "Preach thou the word; be fervent, be it in season or out of season; improve, control, exhort with all long suffering and doctrine." What thing causeth diligence, so much as love? Through love, shed abroad in our hearts by the Holy Ghost, all things are made easy and sweet unto us, which before were both hard and unpleasant. For "love suffereth all things, believeth all things, hopeth all things, endureth all things." There is a common saying, that nothing is hard to him which loveth. Love maketh labour, travail, and pain, light and sweet to the hunter, yea, in snow and foul weather, in cold and frost, at all seasons. But they which love not the pastime, neither will ne can abide such pains, as to run through thick and thin, to leap hedges and ditches, &c. Through love, Christ was sent of his Father, and humbled himself to our nature, and was whipped, scorned, wounded, and slain, for our sins; as it is written: "God setteth forth his love towards us, forasmuch as while we were yet sinners, Christ died for us." These things were sweet and pleasant unto Christ. Through love, the apostles rejoice that they are beaten, in the Acts. Through love, St Paul "was beaten with rods, was often in hunger, in watching, in thirst, in labour, in cold, in nakedness; often in perils of robbery, in perils of wilderness, in perils of the sea, in perils of false brethren." Through love, many holy men have been burnt for the truth, racked, stoned, hewn in sunder, slain with swords, hunger-pined, and drowned. Fire and water is not more necessary for the preservation of this terrenal life, than love in a preacher; which is the mother of faithfulness, of diligence, of patience, and of all virtue. We read in Matthew, how Christ, before he sent his disciples to preach, examined them what they thought of him, saying, "Whom say ye that I am?"—not that he was ignorant thereof, from whom nothing is hidden; but to give an example to our bishops to "lay hands suddenly upon no man," and to try their doctrine, to examine their learnings; for learning also is a quality most necessary in a preacher. So in this place he examineth Peter whether he love him, because love is so necessary.

I would wish that our magistrates, and the overseers of Israel, would set this example of our Saviour Christ before

their eyes, and diligently follow it. The captain going to battle mustereth, gathering many together; and chooseth out the most ablest to serve his prince. What merchantman will take any to be his prentice, unless he have certain qualities necessary for his occupation? Colligeners in their elections pose their scholars, assay their wits, try their learnings, ask of their¹ conditions, before they choose them. If bishops applied their vocations as diligently as other do their occupations, the heritage of the Lord should be in much better case: his vineyard should not be rooted up and destroyed with beasts of the field: the hill of Sion would wax green and beautiful. The noble orator, Demosthenes, was wont to say, that he was greatly ashamed of his small study, when he considered the great pains which artificers took at Athens to get money; and that he was moved to more earnest study thereby. Have not the overseers of the house of Israel much more cause to be abashed for their great negligence? They follow not the noble captain, which mustereth before he goeth to war, and chooseth out tall and able men; but they send all that come, and refuse none. They esteem preaching often and diligently, to be against their honour and dignity. They allure learned men from their cures, and make them stewards of their lands. They give them benefice upon benefice, but they will not suffer them to come at their parishes, to preach, to exhort, to instruct. And this practice is customable, not only in them, but in the most part of great men and women. For commonly they take beneficed men to be their chaplains, and cause them to lie from their benefices: the which when they have done a good while in their service, then they give them another benefice for their pains, and then cause them to lie from two benefices, and after from three, and then from four; and to put holy-water-swingers in their rooms and cures. I speak not this against all lords and bishops; but against unpreaching prelates and covetous lords, which find their chaplains at the costs of poor parishes, and not of their own lands. Well, the blood of all souls that perish for lack of instruction, my lords, shall fall on your heads. Beware, and amend betimes. Give your chaplains sufficient wages, and pill not poor parishes. I accuse no man. Every man's conscience, at the last day, before the bar of the

Bishops.

Demosthenes.
[Cicero.
Tusc.
Quæst.
lib. iv.
c. 19.]

[¹ Ask of their, 1550; ask their, 1560.]

terrible judge, shall either deliver and quit, or condemn and cast him.

But Pighius¹ replieth further for Peter's supremacy, because Christ sheweth him that Sathan desired to sift all the apostles, and biddeth him strengthen them, saying, "Simon, Simon, behold, Sathan hath desired to sift you, as it were wheat; but I have prayed for thee, that thy faith fail not: when thou art converted, strengthen thy brethren." Before trouble Christ useth to give his disciples warning, that they be not dismayed, mated, or discouraged, but armed with patience: as in telling them that he must go to Jerusalem, and be slain of the high priests and lawyers; in shewing them the destruction of Salomon's temple, and tokens of the latter days. And wherefore he shewed them, he teacheth, saying: "But see that ye be not troubled, and take heed; I have told you before." In the mount Olivet he sheweth² them, that all they shall be offended by him the night fol-

[¹ Ad hæc, divinæ assistentiæ singularem prærogativam et indefectibilis fidei privilegium, regni Christi aut ecclesiæ pastori prorsus necessarium, . . . idem ille nobis commendavit, et de eadem securos reddidit, cum de prælatura contententibus apostolis, post pleraque multa, quibus carnalem adhuc ambitionem eorum benigne repressit, uni Simoni commune fratrum et totius ecclesiæ periculum, ut ejus pastori et rectori, enuncians, adjungit rogasse pro eodem, ne ejus fides deficeret, ut cujus esset fratres confirmare in fide. Simon, inquit, ecce Satanas expetivit vos, ut cribraret, sicut triticum. Non dicit te, sed vos: confratres ejus, universamque ecclesiam, una significans. Quid tum denique? Ego autem rogavi, inquit, pro te, ut non deficiat fides tua. Omnes expetitos a Satana uni Petro denunciavit singulariter; et illi, et aliis, præsentibus et posteris, significans, omnium curam ad ipsum præcipue pertinere. Proinde et pro uno ipso, velut omnium pastore, singulariter rogavit, ne ejus fides deficeret. Et exauditus pro sua reverentia, uni ecclesiasticæ hierarchiæ præsidi, ad formam et modum, quem etiam in veteri synagoga expresserat, impetravit indefectibilis fidei privilegium. Subjungens proinde, cujus esset, in subortis ejusmodi hæretici turbinis fluctibus ac agitationibus, confirmare fluctuantes fratres in fide. Et tu, inquit, aliquando conversus, confirma fratres tuos. Omnia hæc in illud tempus retulit, cum post Domini sui (quam hic adhuc futuram subinnuebat) abnegationem, post conversionem rursus ad eundem, ab eodem jamjam ascensuro ad cælum commissionem accepit pascendi regendique gregis sui; ut in eadem et inclusa et data intelligantur universa, quamvis ante explicata, quæcunque ad hoc ipsum erant necessaria. Pighius, *Controversiar. Præcipuar. Explicatio*, fol. 99 b, Edit. Paris. 1549.]

[² Sheweth, 1550; shewed, 1560.]

lowing, as it was written, "I will smite the shepherd, and the sheep of the flock shall be scattered abroad." That which was said to them all in mount Olivet is spoken now severally unto Peter; because he had more need of warning than the rest, because he offended more, because he trusted much in himself. Therefore Christ saith: "Simon, Simon, behold, Sathan hath desired to sift you; but I have prayed for thee." The meaning of which words is: "The devil shall busily tempt you all at the time of my passion; and specially thee, Peter, more than the rest. He shall not prevail; for I have prayed for thee. Trust not in thine own strength, but in my prayer. Unless I had prayed, thou shouldest have been the son of damnation, and not have repented." For it is written, "The Lord turned back, and looked upon Peter; and then he went out, and wept bitterly." He denied him once, and wept not; for the Lord had not looked upon him. He denied him again, and wept not; for Christ did not yet look upon him. When he denied him the third time, Christ's look moved him to lament his offence with abundant tears.

Matt. xxvi.
Zech. xiii.

Luke xxii.

But there riseth a question, whether Christ looked upon him with corporal eyes, and admonished him visibly, or not. If we read the gospel diligently, we shall find that Christ was in a chamber within, and many about him which spat in his face, and buffeted him with their fists; and that the apostle Peter was without in the hall, sometime sitting, sometime standing at the fire with the servants; as all the evangelists agree. Wherefore Christ did not look on him with corporal eyes, but as he looked upon the low degree of his handmaid: that is to say, he did help him with his mercy secretly; he touched his heart; he visited him with his inward grace, which caused him to pour forth outward tears. He biddeth him strengthen his brethren, when he is converted; not as head of them, but as a labourer in his vineyard: for these words, "Strengthen thy brethren," be as much to say as, 'Feed my sheep, preach the glad tidings of the gospel, which strengtheneth the sick soul;' as it is written, "Man shall not live by bread only, but by every word that cometh out of the mouth of God." David witnesseth, and experience teacheth us, that bread comforteth and strengtheneth the heart of man: and yet, "the life is

How Christ
looked upon
Peter; cor-
porally or
spiritually.

Luke i.

Matt. iv.

Psal. civ.

Matt. vi.

more worth than bread, and the body more of value than any meat." Wherefore, these words give no authority to him above the rest of the apostles; but rather be a narration of his fall through presumption, and of his rising again only by Christ.

If Peter were head of the church, yet that doth not stablish the pope's supremacy; unless he can shew Peter's last will and lawful testament, wherein this is given him. I have spoken this of the primacy; partly because the papists, with subtle and crafty reasoning, and wrong leavening of the scriptures, allure the consciences of many into this damnable opinion; partly also being occasioned of my matter: for he hath presumed, many years, to forgive the sins of such as would give him money to loose and to bless them; and to curse, and hold the sins of them which were against his mind.

2 Thess. ii. According to St Paul's prophesying, "He shall sit in the temple of God, and shew himself as God." What is, to "sit in the temple of God, and boast himself as God," but to reign in the consciences of men, and to take upon him that which belongeth only to God?

Now, to make a brief rehearsal of this matter, there be four things necessary to be known concerning remission of sins. Who forgiveth the sin? wherefore, or for whom? by whom? to whom? The scripture answereth these four questions. We learn who forgiveth sin of it, saying:

Mark ii. "Who can forgive sin, but God only?" And for whom we are pardoned our misdeeds, St Paul teacheth us,

Heb. i. writing to his countrymen of Christ: "For this cause is he mediator of the new testament; that through death, which chanced for redemption of those transgressions that were in the first testament, they which were called might receive the promise of eternal inheritance." And to the

Rom. viii. Romans: "He which spared not his own Son, but gave him for us all, how will he not with him give us all things also?" If God give us all things for Christ's sake, we have remission of our sins also by him. By whom God

Jolin xx. forgiveth, Christ telleth us, saying, "Whose sins ye forgive, shall be forgiven; and whose ye hold, shall be holden:" which words be spoken to ministers. Sometime he doth forgive without the certificate of the minister; for he is not bound to his sacraments, but worketh what he will, and

how he will. Paul, after he had heard Christ speak, was Acts ix. sent to a minister; yet he was lightened from above, before Ananias, who laid hands on him, knew thereof. The thief Luke xxiii. which hung on the right hand, was straight carried into paradise, without any ceremony of ministration; which God hath ordained for our infirmities, not that it is a necessary mean unto him. Now he promiseth forgiveness to all those which repent, and intend to lead a new conversation, and to make their bodies a lively, holy, and acceptable sacrifice unto him; as the coming of John the christener, before our Saviour Christ, teacheth us; who began his preaching at repentance, saying, "Repent; for the kingdom of heaven Luke iii. is at hand." He baptized many in Bethabara beyond Jordan; but they confessed their sins first. He reviled the Pharisees and Sadducees, and bade them do fruits worthy repentance. Christ also, when it was told him that Herod had laid hands on John, coming to the coasts of Zabulon Mark i. and Nephtalem, began with the same: and not only that, but he commandeth his apostles to begin with it, when he doth authorise them to preach. He sendeth by and by Mark vi. Matt. x. Luke ix. Luke x. after them other seventy, to preach the same. I would our magistrates were as diligent in sending forth preachers. But they have no leisure to muse of the commonwealth, they are so greedy of private wealth. In the Acts many, Acts ii. being pricked in their hearts through Peter's preaching, ask him and the other apostles, what they should do to achieve and get remission of their sins: and Peter answereth them, saying, "Repent, and be baptized every one of you in the name of Jesus Christ, for remission of sins." Of which texts and examples it is evident, that God doth not forgive our sins, pardon our trespasses, and wipe out our misdeeds and offences, unless we have an earnest purpose and fervent mind to crucify our old man, and to become new dough and sweet bread, albeit the minister lay hands on us an hundred times: for he regardeth the heart, not the ceremony of ministration, searching the bottom and ground of it, and trying the reins; rewarding every man according to the fruit of his counsels.

THE EIGHTEENTH CHAPTER.

God only is Almighty: and whether he can sin, die, or lie: with other no properties.

Wisd. xi.

Exod. ix.
Rom. ix.
Wisd. xvi.
Exod. vii.
Exod. viii.
ix.
Exod. x. xiv.
Exod. xvi.
Wisd. xvi.

Luke i.

Mark x.

THE next property belonging to the majesty of the god-head is, that he is almighty, and can do what him list in heaven and earth; as the book of Wisdom telleth us: "Unto thy almighty hand, that made the world of nought," or as other translate, "of a confused heap, it was not impossible to send among them a heap of bears, or wood lions, or cruel beasts of a strange kind, such as are unknown, spouting fire, or casting out¹ a smoking breath, and shooting horrible sparks out of their eyes; which might not only destroy them with hurting, but also kill them with their horrible looking. Like as the small thing that the balance weigheth, so is the world before him; yea, as a drop of the morning dew, that falleth down upon the earth: for he hath power of all things." The glorious and famous deliverance of Israel shew his hand to be almighty, his arm to be strong and infinite: who raised up Pharaoh for this only purpose, to shew his might on him; and that his name, which is his power and righteousness, might be declared throughout all the world. He punished the ungodly, that would not know him, with strange waters, hails, rains, frogs, lice, flies, murrain, sores, grasshoppers, thick darkness. He drowned Pharaoh in the Red Sea, and led his people through the middle thereof. He fed them with angels' food, and sent them bread from heaven. He took away the heritage of kings, and gave it them. We read, that the angel answered the holy virgin Mary, asking how she could conceive sithen she knew no man, that "the power of the Highest should overshadow her," and that by the same power "her cousin Elizabeth should have a son in her age; for with God can nothing be impossible." Christ saith: "It is easier for a great camel to go through the eye of a needle, than for a rich man to enter into the kingdom of heaven:" notwithstanding, many rich men have en-

[¹ Casting out a, 1550; casting out of a, 1560.]

tered thither, as Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob, king David, the patient man Job, in the old testament; and Matthew, Zaccheus, and Joseph of Arimathie, in the new. We may gather, then, that God can easily cause a mighty camel to go through the eye of a fine needle: wherefore all things be possible to him; as Jesus teacheth his disciples, that with men to be impossible, but not with God; for with him all things are possible.

Some deny him to be almighty; for he cannot sin, he cannot lie, he cannot be deceived, he cannot die. Yea ^{Whether God can sin or lie, or not.} rather, he is almighty, because these things have no stroke in him; which be infirmities, not powers, and include a certain weakness and feebleness, and no omnipotency. If he could either sin, or die, or be deluded and lie, he were not almighty; for he that sinneth becometh the servant of sin. "Remember ye not," saith Paul, "that to whomsoever Rom. vi. ye commit yourselves as servants to obey, his servants ye are to whom ye obey; whether it be of sin unto death, or of obedience unto righteousness?" Christ also answereth the Jews, denying that they were bond, but Abraham's seed: "Verily I say unto you, whosoever committeth sin is the John viii. servant of sin." St Augustine, a noble member of the christian congregation, saith: *Magna Dei potentia est non posse mentiri*², "It is a great power of God, that he cannot lie." The same may be said of deceiving, of all sin, of dying; the which cannot be in God, because he is almighty.

Other reply, that we can do many things which the Deity cannot; as walk, speak, eat and drink. To which I answer, that albeit God, by himself, do not these things, yet he worketh them all in his creatures: for he maketh them to walk,

[² These words have not been found; but similar passages are of frequent occurrence in the works of St Augustine; as, in *De Civ. Dei*, Lib. xxii. cap. 25. Si volunt invenire quod omnipotens non potest, habent prorsus, ego dicam: mentiri non potest. Op. vii. 693. And *In traditione Symboli*, Sermon. 2. Omnipotens...non potest mori, non potest peccare, non potest mentiri, non potest falli. Tanta non potest: quæ si posset, non esset omnipotens. Op. v. 939. And in his sermon *ad Catechumenos, de Symbolo*, cap. 1. Deus omnipotens est; et cum sit omnipotens, mori non potest, falli non potest, mentiri non potest; et, quod ait apostolus, 'negare se ipsum non potest.' Quam multa non potest, et omnipotens est: et ideo omnipotens est, quia ista non potest. Op. vi. 547.]

Mark ix.

Phil. iv.

John xv.

Heb. vi.

Against
the Ana-
baptists.

speak, eat and drink. If he should do these things in his own nature, he should be like unto man, and so not almighty. Christ telleth a man whose son was vexed with a dumb spirit, that all things are possible to him that believeth: much more, all things are possible unto God. But thou wilt say, If I believe, nothing is impossible unto me: then, only God is not almighty. Nothing is impossible unto believers, notwithstanding they be not almighty, because they can do nothing of themselves, which is an infirmity, and no almightiness; but live, move, and be, in him. St Paul, in his letter unto the Philippians, saith, that he can both cast down himself and exceed, be hungry and suffer need; yea, that he can do all things; but through the help of Christ, which strengtheneth him, without whom we can do nothing. Wherefore Christ is almighty; and therefore God, by nature, not by nuncupation only.

We read, in Paul to the Hebrews, *Impossibile est eos qui semel, &c.* that "it is impossible that they which were once lightened, and have tasted of the heavenly gift, and were become partakers of the Holy Ghost, &c., if they fall, should be renewed again unto repentance, crucifying unto themselves again the Son of God, and making a mock of him." If this be impossible, where is God's almighty hand and omnipotent arm? 'Impossible,' in this text, is not to be taken for that which cannot be or come to pass; but for that which seldom and very hardly is done. For Paul speaketh the very same thing again straightway in a similitude, that "the earth, which drinketh in the rain that cometh oft upon it, and bringeth forth herbs convenient for them that dress it, receiveth blessing of God; but that the ground, which beareth thorns and briars, is reproved, and nigh unto cursing." The barren ground here, which resembleth man, with thorns and thistles resembling sin, is not already accursed, but rebuked, and nigh unto cursing: so the man which falleth after he is lightened, is not without all possibility of amendment, but in great peril of damnation. For as the barren ground, bearing thorns and thistles, may become fruitful; so such one may be renewed, and rise again. Methink Paul by this similitude, which immediately doth follow, sheweth what he meaneth by this word 'impossible.' Weigh the similitude, and the purpose why it is brought,

and I think you will not refuse this interpretation. The disciples use the same word, in effect, unto Christ, asking him who can be saved; which is as much to say as, 'It is impossible for any to be saved.' But he answereth them, that "with men it is impossible, but not with God:" teaching us, Mark x. that rich men have hard access unto heaven. And for these words, "with men it is impossible," before he saith, "Children, how hard is it for them that trust in riches Luke xviii. to enter into the kingdom of God!" Wherefore it is not Impossible for hard. against the phrase of the scripture, to call that impossible, which is hard and seldom.

The Novatians, Anabaptists, and Catharoi, abuse this place, to prove, that all such as do fall after baptism cannot rise again, but are damned and not recoverable. I trust my exposition do more accord to the truth, than this damnable assertion, against which I think it necessary somewhat to speak; for I have heard say, that there be many of this opinion in England, and partly I do believe it. After the triumphant deliverance of the Israelites out of Egypt, God ordained two manner of offerings among them: one, for sins done of ignorance; another, for trespasses done willingly: promising forgiveness unto both. Levit. v. If Levit. vi. some Anabaptist say, that these were not done after baptism, for the Israelites lacked baptism, Paul answered him, saying, "Brethren, I would not ye should be ignorant of 1 Cor. x. this, how our fathers were all under a cloud, and all passed through the sea, and were all baptized under Moses in the cloud and in the sea, &c." Wherefore after baptism God forgiveth sin, done both of ignorance and also willingly. If he say, that under the law such might be restored, but not under grace; I would know of him, whether the mercy of God be augmented or diminished through the coming of our Saviour Christ. Epiphanius, an ancient writer and of famous memory, telleth that one Meletius, an arch heretic, spread this opinion over a great part of Egypt and Syria, and prevailed against Peter, bishop of Alexandria; who was slain afterward of the cruel tyrant Maximin. But thanks be to God, there be innumerable examples which notably confute and vanish it; and among all, none more worthy than one in the history of St John, the beloved apostle. Eusebius, in his third book and twenty-third chapter,

Epiphanius.
[Contra
Hereses,
lib. ii. cap.
68. Opera,
Basil. 1560,
ii. 321.]

Hist. Eccles. lib. iii. cap. 23. [p. 113. Edit. Cantab. 1720.]
 Gen. xxxvii. Gen. xxxv. Gen. xxxviii. Num. xxvii.
 2 Sam. xi.
 2 Kings xxi. Luke xxii.
 Acts viii.
 2 Cor. ii.
 Matt. xviii.
 Luke xv.

writeth of him, that he turned marvellously a certain young man from stealing unto Christ, which had fallen from Christ to stealing. In the old testament, the patriarchs conspire the death of Joseph, and rise again; Reuben defileth his father's bed; Judas committeth fornication; Moses displeaseth God at the waters of strife; David falleth into advoutery; Manasses into idolatry. In the new, Peter denieth his master thrice; the Galatians follow another gospel, and are recovered by Paul; Peter exhorteth Simon Magus unto amendment; Paul desireth the Corinthians to receive him again whom he had excommunicate; Christ biddeth us forgive our brethren seventy times seven times; the angels in heaven rejoice at the conversion of a sinner. These examples and authorities be very plain against the blasphemy of the Novatians and Anabaptists, which would bring men unto desperation and infidelity.

Another interpretation.

Eph. iv.

The first reason.

If they, cleaving to this word 'impossible,' refuse to take it for 'that which is hard,' as it doth signify often in the scriptures; yet this place maketh nothing for their desperate opinion, but rather destroyeth and vanquisheth it; as the circumstance of it declareth. For Paul denieth, that he which is baptized can be re-christened; so that these words, "It is impossible that they should be renewed again," be the same in effect which he hath in another place, "One Lord, one faith, one baptism." And that it is so, and no otherwise, I will prove with three manifest reasons. One is, because, as the words immediately before do teach, he speaketh there of doctrine pertaining to the beginning of a christian man; as "the foundation of repentance from dead works, and of faith toward God, and of the doctrine of baptism, of laying on of hands, of resurrection and judgment;" and mounteth afterward unto perfection; that is, toucheth Christ's everlasting priesthood, his death, and the disannulling of the law. By which words he teacheth us, that he speaketh not of repentance alone; but of the whole foundation of a christian man; which is baptism, and those things which he doth annex unto baptism. For in the primitive church, as this place and other sheweth, men first were moved unto repentance; then unto faith in Christ; then sealed with the sacrament of baptism; then confirmed with laying on of hands; and last of all, certified of the resurrection and general judgment: and

that all at the time of their christening. Now, after that he hath declared this manner of christening, and beginning of a christian man, this form and fashion of the primitive church, he saith incontinent, that "it is impossible for such, as fall after this lightening, to be renewed again unto repentance." Who doth not see, considering what goeth before and why these words be brought in, that he speaketh of the whole order and form of baptism; and denieth that this form and fashion can be iterate? My next reason is, that he must needs mean so, because the text doth not say, that it is impossible for such to repent; but *rursus renovari*, "to be renewed unto repentance;" requiring a renewing with the repentance. What is "to be renewed" then? "To be born again;" the which is done only by baptism. We may repent without baptism, before and after; but renewed unto repentance we cannot be, without this noble sacrament. Wherefore St Paul, in this place, forbiddeth all iteration of baptism, not of repentance. Thirdly, it appeareth to be so also of these words: *Rursum crucifigentes sibi membris Filium Dei*, "Crucifying unto themselves again the Son of God, and making a mock of him." For all such as will be christened more than once, crucify Christ again in a figure, and scorn his death, as insufficient to take away their sins. For baptism is a figure of it; as St Paul witnesseth, saying, "Remember ye not, that all we, which be baptized in the name of Jesus Christ, are baptized to die with Christ?" Wherefore, as Christ died but once, making full satisfaction for sins, so baptism is but once to be ministered. But they deny this also. If any man would know the use of the primitive church in this point, Eusebius¹ registereth, that

The second reason.

The third.

Rom. vi.

Hist. Eccles. lib. x. cap. 14.

[¹ Tempore quo apud Alexandriam Petri martyris diem Alexander episcopus agebat, cum post expleta solennia conventuros ad convivium suum clericos expectaret in loco mari vicino, videt eminus puerorum supra oram maris ludum, imitantium, ut fieri solet, episcopum, atque ea quæ in ecclesiis geri mos est. Sed cum intentius diutine pueros inspectaret, videt ab his geri quædam etiam secretiora et mystica. Perturbatus illico, vocari ad se clericos jubet, atque eis quid eminus ipse videret, ostendit. Tum abire eos, et comprehensos ad se perducere omnes pueros imperat. Cumque adessent, quis eis ludus, et quid egissent, vel quomodo, percunctatur. Illi, ut talis habet ætas, pavidi, negare primo, deinde rem gestam per ordinem pandunt, et baptizatos a se esse quosdam catechumenos confitentur per Athanasium, qui ludi illius

Alexander, bishop of Alexandria, calling a council of learned men, enacted, that all those which Athanasius christened in the way of pastime, being chosen bishop by a company of lads, and being but a boy himself, ought not to be re-christened. The Anabaptists allege the ninth¹ of the Acts, where it is written, that Paul, finding certain disciples at Ephesus which had not received the Holy Ghost, baptized them again in the name of the Lord Jesu. Paul's baptizing in this place is nothing but giving the Holy Ghost by laying on of hands, as the text expoundeth itself. For first, Paul is said to baptize them in the name of Christ, and then these words, according to the use of scriptures, be expounded with them which follow: that is, Paul laid hands upon them, and the Holy Ghost came on them. If thou think, that baptism cannot be taken for giving of the Holy Ghost, hearken what John the Baptist saith of our Saviour Christ and himself: "I baptize you in water, in token of repentance; but he that cometh after me, shall baptize you with the Holy Ghost, and with fire." Christ never baptized any with water; and yet the scripture saith he baptized, because he gave the Holy Ghost. In this signification, Paul baptized them again in the name of Jesus Christ, without all iteration of the sacrament. Melancthon² taketh this

Athanasius.

Acts xix.

Matt. iii.

John iv.

puerilis episcopus fuerat simulatus. Tum ille diligenter inquirens ab his qui baptizati dicebantur, quid interrogati fuerint, quidve responderint, simul et ab eo qui interrogaverat, ubi videt secundum religionis nostræ ritum cuncta constare, conlocutus cum concilio clericorum, statuisse traditur, illis, quibus integris interrogationibus et responsionibus aqua fuerat infusa, iterari baptismum non debere, sed adimpleri ea quæ a sacerdotibus mos est. Athanasium vero, atque eos quos ludus ille vel presbyteros habere visus fuerat vel ministros, convocatis parentibus, sub Dei obtestatione tradit ecclesiæ suæ nutriendos. Parvo autem tempore, cum a Notario integre, et a Grammatico sufficienter Athanasius fuisset instructus, continuo tanquam fidele Domini commendatum, a parentibus restituitur sacerdoti, ac velut Samuel quidam in templo Domini nutritur, et ab eo pergente ad patres in senectute bona, ad portandum post se ephod sacerdotale deligitur. Autores Hist. Eccl. Ed. Basil. 1535. p. 230. This passage was not written by Eusebius, but by Rufinus, the translator and continuator of Eusebius's history.]

[¹ This is *ninth*, instead of *nineteenth*, in both Editions.]

[² Sed Novatiani duos locos ex Epistola ad Hebræos objiciunt. Hebr. 6. 'Impossibile est eos, qui semel illuminati sunt, revocari ad penitentiam, &c.' Quamlibet durus videtur hic locus, tamen si conscientia communita

place unto the Hebrews, which the late Novatians would wrest to maintain their opinion, to be of the sin against the Holy Ghost; out of which no man can rise, for it is never forgiven. Thou hast now, gentle reader, two interpretations of the terrible saying of St Paul: follow that which thou judgest to be most true.

But to return to our matter: many deny God's omnipotency, because he cannot revoke that which is past. The Greek poet saith,

Μόνου γὰρ αὐτοῦ καὶ θεὸς στερίσκεται,
Ἀγερητὰ ποιεῖν, ὅσ' ἂν ᾖ πεπραγμένα.

“The power of God doth fail in nought, save this;
To make undone, that thing that once done is.”

Yes, truly, God can do this, if he will; albeit we judge contrary of his infinite might and power: but it shall never come so to pass; because it is to be supposed, that God never will that thing to be undone, which he hath once done: for he worketh all things; and that without repentance. If he would that thing to be undone which is gone and past, or that word to be unspoken which is spoken, repentance should take place in him. Yet can he do it; albeit it be impossible unto our understanding. The infirmity is in us, which cannot comprehend such a power, such a majesty, not in him. Through like infirmity the heathen supposed there were many gods, because it seemed to them impossible for

est veris testimoniis supra citatis, non potest hoc loco perturbari. Sed postquam ex superioribus testimoniis certo constat, lapsis non negandam esse veniam, facile judicari potest, non posse hic retineri τὸ ῥητόν, sed addendam esse commodam interpretationem. Alii aliter mitigant hunc locum, ut fit in obscuris et ambiguis; Græcè non sonat usque adeo incommode. Ait enim: Non est possibile renovari eos qui Christum crucifigunt, et ludibrio habent. Hoc simplicissime intelligo in hanc sententiam. Tales non possunt renovari, qui non auscultant amplius evangelio, sed contemnunt, nec illa initia pietatis, de quibus dixit, retinere student, scilicet baptismi et pœnitentiæ doctrinam. Hæc est, ut mihi quidem videtur, germana ejus loci sententia, et nihil habet incommodi: tantisper non possunt renovari, dum non auscultant evangelio, sed crucifigunt Christum, et ludibrio habent. Fatendum est etiam esse aliquod irremissibile peccatum, quia id expresse affirmat Christus. Ad id accommodetur et hic locus Epistolæ ad Hebræos. Melancthon, De Pœnitentia, Opera i. 245. Edit. Witeberg. 1601.]

one to rule and govern all things. Therefore they divided the governance of the world between three; giving heaven and earth to Jupiter, the seas to Neptune, the low places and hell to Pluto. They craved plenty of corn of Ceres, riches of Plutus, wine of Bacchus, luck in hunting of Diana, good fortune in wooing of Venus and Cupido, learning and utterance of Mercury, and victory in battle of Minerva and Mars. Through like infirmity the papists brought in pilgrimages, dedications, prayings to saints; thinking God either not so able, or else not so willing and merciful, to hear our requests and accomplish them. Some, because they will rather deny his omnipotency than confess their own infirmity, say, that he is called omnipotent, because he can do whatsoever he will, and not all things. I had rather acknowledge my infirmity, than diminish his omnipotency.

THE NINETEENTH CHAPTER.

God is defined out of his scriptures.

Heb. vi. THERE be many other things also, belonging only unto
Deut. v. the Deity, mentioned in the scripture; as, "I am the Lord
thy God, which brought thee out of the land of Egypt, the
Prov. xviii. house of bondage and slavery;" and, "The name of the
Lord is a strong castle: the righteous fieth unto it and
shall be saved;" and, "It is God that justifieth." "God
Rom. viii. worketh in us both the will and the deed;" "God is a con-
Phil. ii. suming fire;" "God is light;" "God is charity;" "Thou
Heb. xiii. shalt worship the Lord thy God, and him only shalt thou
1 John i. serve;" "When I call upon the Lord, he heareth me." For
1 John iv. nothing is to be honoured, called upon; nothing heareth our
Deut. vi. prayers; nothing is charity, light, consuming fire; nothing
Deut. x. justifieth and saveth the righteous, save God only. The
Matt. iv. scripture doth attribute these properties to no manner of
creature.

Hitherto, leaving all superfluous questions which have rather curiosity than profit, I have applied my kind of

writing to the capacities of the congregation, of which the most part be lay ; and declared what God is, out of his most sacred and holy word ; which is the only way leading us to the knowledge of him, the only light illumining our darkness, the only “ fire and hammer that breaketh the hard stone ;” A hammer. Jer. xxiii. that is, vanquisheth ill doctrine, and confoundeth all heresies. They which seek him without it, not content with “ the whole- 1 Tim. vi. some words of our Lord Jesus Christ, nor with the doctrine of godliness,” go out of their way, walk in darkness, overwhelm themselves with reasons of man's wisdom, learn always and never can get the knowledge of him, waste their brains about “ unprofitable questions and strife of words ; whereof spring 2 Tim. ii. envy, railings, evil surmisings, vain disputations of men with corrupt minds and destitute of the truth.” Wherefore as the child, before he is born into the world, abideth in his The child. mother's womb and taketh all nourishment of her ; so we must learn what God is within the bounds of his word, not at rovers ; until he mercifully deliver us from this bondage, and out of the dungeon of the body, and grant us to behold him face to face. Now, gathering a sum of my sayings, I will define what God is : not that any perfect definition can be made of him, for he is unsearchable ; but for the capacities of the laity, for whose sakes I write this, that they may behold him in a glass and a shadow, who cannot be seen in this life perfectly.

God is a spiritual and pure substance or nature ; immutable, invisible, unsearchable ; filling heaven and earth ; full of understanding, of truth and righteousness, of mercy, of wisdom, of all manner of goodness ; without beginning, without ending ; not create, not made, and maker of all things ; subject to nothing, and governing all things ; knowing all things, yea, even the inward thoughts, intents, and hearts of men ; forgiving sin ; only to be honoured, called upon ; only hearing, justifying, and saving us ; of an almighty arm and majesty ; the Father unbegotten, the Son begotten, the Holy Spirit proceeding from them both. I have declared before all these things to be attributed unto God in his holy word. And the scripture doth not only not deny, but oftsoons grant the same, all and every one, unto Jesus Christ our Saviour, and to the Holy Ghost our Comforter : as it shall appear more evidently hereafter. Where-

upon it must needs follow, that both Christ is God, and the almighty Comforter also, by nature, and not by name only; as they of whom it is written, *Ego dixi, Dii estis*; "I have spoken, You are gods."

THE TWENTIETH CHAPTER.

In what order he will write of a person.

Now, seeing that I have shewed what God is, according to the talent of my knowledge, I think it convenient unto my matter to declare, what this word *person* signifieth in this place; forasmuch as the signification thereof is referred to diverse things. And because many heretics do mistake, and wrongly expound this word, in the glorious and blessed Trinity, as they know which have read ancient chronicles of times past; I will first shew what a person is not, the which is easier; and with the same, that there be three persons in the superglorious Deity. For we must learn weighty and hard matters by foreknowledge of easy things. This done, I will shew what the word *person* doth signify in the Godhead: then I will apply the definition thereof to Christ; and then I will refer the same to the Holy Comforter. I will prove Christ to be a substance, and I will fortify the Holy Spirit to be a substance; and Christ to be unconfounded, and the Holy Spirit to be unconfounded. Finally, I will portray and paint the three persons, that is, the Trinity, by corporal similitudes; whose nature in itself is ineffable and unsearchable. And albeit these things be profound and high mysteries, and as hard as they be necessary, and unknown, and never yet disclosed in our mother's tongue; yet I will so shape and order my oration and speech after such a homely and perceivable fashion, as shall be most meet and agreeing to the capacity of those that be simple.

THE TWENTY-FIRST CHAPTER.

A person is not a difference of vocation and office: and that the fathers of the old testament worshipped a Trinity.

THE Patripassians and Sabellians, and after them Photinus¹, and of late Servetus,² define a person to be a certain condition and difference of office: as when we say, Roscius sometime sustained the person of Achilles, and sometime of Ulysses; or, that a king and a prophet be divers persons. For as one man may represent the person of Achilles and Ulysses, and nothing letteth but one man may be a king and a prophet, as David was; so they say, that the Father is the Son, and the Holy Spirit also, and that they be not three several persons. The story of Christ's christening Against the Patripassians. banisheth this opinion; where we see a notable difference of the three persons. The Father soundeth these words, "This is my beloved Son:" the Son is seen standing in Jordan: the Holy Ghost lighteth upon him in the likeness of a dove. If the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost be three names and one thing, as of this heretical definition of a person it Matt. ii.

[¹ Οὐκοῦν πρῶτος Σαβέλλιος ὁ Λίβυς παρήχθη. Τί οὖν οὗτος φησιν; ὅτι τὸ πατήρ, καὶ υἱός, καὶ ἅγιον πνεῦμα, ὀνόματά ἐστι ψιλὰ καθ' ἑνὸς προσώπου κείμενα. Μαρκίων δὲ ὁ Ποντικός φησιν, ὅτι ὁ θεὸς ὁ πάντα συστησάμενος οὐκ ἔστιν ἀγαθός, οὐδὲ πατήρ τοῦ ἀγαθοῦ Χριστοῦ, ἀλλ' ἕτερός τις δίκαιος, καὶ σάρκα οὐκ ἀνέλαβεν ὑπὲρ ἡμῶν ὁ υἱός. Μάρκελλος δὲ καὶ Φωτεινός καὶ Σωφρόνιος τὸν λόγον ἐνέργειαν εἶναι φασί, τὴν δὲ ἐνέργειαν ταύτην ἐνοικῆσαι τῷ ἐκ σπέρματος Δαυὶδ, οὐκ οὐσίαν ἐνυπόστατον. Chrysostom. In Epist. ad Philipp. Homil. vi. Opera xi. 234. Ed. Paris. 1718—1738.]

[² Scripturis item ea est de persona loquendi ratio, ut una res dicatur gerere personam alterius; ad quem modum socii Job, sumpta Dei persona, quasi ipsi essent Dii, volebant loqui et judicare. Angelus in persona Dei tota lege loquitur. Pseudoapostoli in persona apostolorum loquebantur. Satanas in persona boni angeli loquitur, cum se transfiguratur in angelum lucis. Sapientia ipsa, angelus, David, et alii prophetae in persona Christi saepe loquuntur. Ad hunc modum, Verbum illud in persona Christi olim fuisse Filium dicimus, et Christum hunc olim in persona Verbi apud Patrem fuisse. De Trinit. Divina, lib. iii. p. 92.]

must needs follow; then the Father both soundeth the fore-said words, was baptized of John in the famous river of Jordan, and appeared also in the likeness of a dove. But this doctrine is contrary to the truth of the gospel. Wherefore, a person is not a difference of office. Furthermore, the

Matt. xxviii. apostles are commanded to christen in the name of the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost. If the Father be all three, he is named thrice, and so it is *tautologia otiosa*, "a foolish and vain repetition." And this of St Paul likewise:

Rom. i.
2 Cor. i.
Phil. i.
Col. i.

"Grace be with you and peace from God our Father, and from the Lord Jesus Christ;" who useth this manner of salutation in all his epistles: the which is vain and superfluous, if we credit this damnable opinion. Hearken what he saith in another place:

1 Cor. viii.
Of whom.
By whom.

"Unto us there is but one God, which is the Father, of whom are all things, and we in him; and one Lord Jesus Christ, by whom are all things, and we by him." Doth not he teach us here, that there be two persons, one of the Father, the other of the Son, not confounded together; and that these two persons be but one God? Christ saith:

John vii.

"My doctrine is not mine, but my Father's which sent me." Wherefore he and his Father be several persons, and not one thing. Isaac was a figure of Christ. For as Abraham, at the commandment of God, led him unto his death; so Christ was sent of God, to be slain for our sins. And Sampson likewise, and many others. But Abraham, Isaac, Manoad, Sampson, were several persons: wherefore the Father and Christ be not all one thing.

Isaac.
Gen. xxii.

Christ.

Sampson.

But I will speak of all the three persons of the glorious Trinity: and forsomuch as many hold opinion, that they of the old testament neither worshipped ne knew any Trinity, but honoured only an unity, and sought no further; I will first begin with the testimonies of the old testament; that it may appear that this doctrine was preached from the creation of the world. The beginning of the book of Generation teacheth us, that there be three several persons, saying: "In the beginning-God created heaven and earth." Where evidently, by the name of 'God,' the Father, and by 'the beginning,' his Son, by whom he made all things, are to be understand.

Gen. i.

For who is 'the beginning,' but Christ, who answereth the Jews, asking what he was, "I am the beginning, which spake unto you;" and in whose behalf David speaketh, "In

John viii.

Psal. xl.

the beginning of the book it is written of me?" After these Heb. x. words of the Father and the Son, it followeth immediately, "The Spirit of God was borne upon the waters:" the which Gen. i. is the third person in the glorious Trinity. Some take the Spirit here for the wind blowing upon the waters. If they examine the text diligently, they shall find that wind was yet unmade; and that the waters there do not signify that which we call water commonly, but the confused heap of which God formed all things. If God were not a Trinity, he would not have said, "Let us make man to our similitude, and after our likeness." For these words 'let us,' 'our similitude,' 'our likeness,' cannot be spoken of one person. Neither they, which are spoken after the miserable captivity and fall of Adam, "The Lord God said, Lo, Adam is become as one of us, in knowledge of good and evil."

But here thou wilt say: These phrases do not prove¹ An objection answered. many persons. For doth not the king use to say², 'We will that this or that be done;' and yet he is but one? Kings and emperors use to say so, because they have counsellors commonly, whose prudent advices they follow. But of God it is written, *Quis cognovit mentem Domini, aut quis illi fuit a consiliis*, "Who hath known the mind of the Lord, or who is his counsellor?" And therefore, he doth not say so for like consideration, but because that, as Pythagoras saith, he Pythagoras. is *ternarius numerus*, 'the third number;' which containeth all other numbers, both unity, evens, and odds. Esayas teach- Isai. vi. eth us the same, where he saith, that he saw the seraphins flacker from above, and cry each one to other, "Holy, Holy, Holy, is the Lord of hosts." By this word 'Holy' thrice repeated we are taught that there be three persons; and by the words following, 'the Lord of hosts' not iterate, that there is but one Lord.

I will prove the same by the properties of the three persons. The congregation confesseth the Father to be un- Unbegotten. begotten; and no heretic can deny it. And the scripture telleth us, that the Son is begotten; to whom the Father Begotten. Psal. ii. saith, "Thou art my Son, this day I begat thee." Not that the Father is elder than Christ; for as he was always a Father, so he was never without a Son, but begat him

[¹ Do not prove, 1550; prove not, 1560.]

[² King use to say, 1550; king say, 1560.]

Psal. cx. without time: "Also of my womb, before the morning star, begat I thee¹." God the Father hath no womb, or corporal form: but by his womb we must understand his substance; as if he said, 'Of my substance, of my own nature, I begat thee.' If God the Father begat Christ of his own substance, which is immutable, how could of the same substance his mutable flesh be made, as our late Anabaptists defend? God begat God, and light begat light; as a man getteth a man, and a dog getteth a dog; for a man cannot get a dog. The Holy Ghost is neither called unbegotten, nor gotten. For if we call him unbegotten, we bring in two Fathers; if we name him gotten², we make two Christs. He is said to proceed equally from the Father and from the Son; as he is equally God, and equally almighty, to be honoured equally, and everywhere equally.

Proceeding.

Scripture proving the proceeding of the Holy Spirit.

Peradventure some will require proof out of scripture, of the proceeding of the Holy Comforter; because we say, that nothing is to be believed upon pain of damnation, which is not in the scriptures. For many do allege this procession of the Holy Spirit for unwritten verities: therefore I say, I will prove it by certain testimonies; albeit I will not deny but that many things be true verities, which be not in the scriptures: as it is true that I wrote this book, and not written; it is true that king Edward the sixth, (God save his noble grace!) is king of England, and unwritten. But mark, good christian people. When we disallow unwritten verities, we except such, and do speak only of such things as be needful and necessary for the saving of our souls. All such things, we say, be written in God's book. For John saith, "These are written, that ye might believe, and have eternal life." If we observe these things, we shall have eternal life; and what can we desire more? All such necessary points be written. Away therefore with unwritten verities.

Unwritten verities.

"But how prove ye the procession of the Holy Spirit by scripture?" That he proceedeth from the Father, Christ teacheth his disciples, saying: "When the Comforter is come, whom I will send unto you from the Father, he shall bear witness of me." That he proceedeth also of Christ,

John xv.

[¹ Ps. cx. 3. Sept. ἐκ γαστροῦ πρὸ ἑωσφόρου ἐγέννησά σε.]

[² Gotten, 1550; begotten, 1560.]

these St Paul's words be a sufficient record: "If there be any man that hath not the Spirit of Christ, the same is none of his." For he cannot be Christ's Spirit, not proceeding of him. He is the virtue, which went out of him, and healed the people of Jerusalem, of Tyre, and of Sidon. Further, our Saviour Christ, after his victorious and glorious resurrection, to teach us that the Holy Ghost proceedeth from him equally as he doth from the Father, breathed on his disciples, and said, "Receive the Holy Ghost;" and, "Lo, I send the promise of my Father upon you."

Rom. viii.

Luke vi.

John xx.

Luke xxv.

If therefore the Father be unbegotten; the Son begotten, not made; the Holy Comforter proceeding; there be three persons not confounded together. The Father is a spirit, and the Son likewise; and the Father is holy, and the Son likewise; but neither of both is the Holy Spirit, the Holy Ghost. He is an unspeakable communion of the Father and Son also: therefore these two words be truly verified severally of them both, but not together. If the Holy Ghost be the Father, he sendeth himself; that is, he proceedeth from himself. If he be the Son, he is the Son of the Father, and of Christ also: for every son is the son of twain, of the father and of the mother. But God forbid that we should imagine any such kind of thing in the Father and Christ. If he be neither of both, he is a several person. No earthly man is able to discuss this nativity of Christ, and procession of the Holy Ghost, after what manner both be done; for both be unspeakable, as it is written, "Who can declare his generation?" Of the Holy Comforter it may be said also: "Who can declare his proceeding?" Wherefore we must eschew curious talking of these mysteries; and steadfastly believe, because of the scriptures. Christ saith: "The Father is greater than I." If he be greater, either they be two several persons, or else the Father is greater than himself. David witnesseth, that the Father setteth Christ on his right hand: "The Lord said unto my Lord, Sit thou on my right hand, until I make thine enemies thy footstool." And that he sitteth there, we learn of St Paul, who exhorteth us to "seek those things which are above, where Christ sitteth on the right hand of God." Then, either they be two persons, or else the Father speaketh to himself, and sitteth on his own right hand. The Father heareth, and Christ

Isai. liii.

John xiv.

Psal. cx.

Col. iii.

John xi.

John xii.
John xvii.
John xiv.
John vii.

prayeth; he blesseth, and Christ giveth thanks; he commandeth, and Christ obeyed; he teacheth, and Christ learneth: for Christ recordeth this of himself, "As my Father taught me, so I speak." These properties learn us, that they be two persons unconfounded, forsomuch as we cannot apply or refer them to one person.

Abraham's
vision.
Gen. xviii.

A glass.

The vision which appeared to Abraham in the oak grove of Mambré, declareth unto us a manifest distinction of the godhead, and yet not a trinity of Gods. For he saw three men, and yet he called them Lord, not lords. If that vision be pondered deeply, it is a glass, wherein we may behold the face of the glorious Trinity, the majesty and nature of God himself. For as those three men were three several persons, and yet were named but one Lord; so the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost be three persons, and one God. Some will reply, that Abraham spake to one of the three, when he said "Lord;" whom he acknowledged to be the chief, taking the other for his ministers and servants. This is proved to be false, of that which followeth: "And the Lord went his way, as soon as he had left talking with Abraham; and Abraham returned to his place. And there went two angels to Sodom at even; and Lot sat at the gate of the city." Lot calleth these two men, after they had brought him without the city, commanding him not to look backward, "Lord," not "lords." Wherefore he which departed was not chief, and their lord. If he had been chief, the scripture would not name the twain remaining Lord; which, in calling the twain Lord also, signifieth unto us, that there was no superiority, no pre-eminence, no prerogative among them; but equality, as in the Trinity, which is figured by these three men. Some will say, that Lot speaketh not to both, but to one of them. Why then doth the scripture say, "Loth said unto them, Oh! nay, my Lord, behold, forasmuch as thy servant hath found grace in thy sight, &c?" These two men signify Christ and the Holy Ghost, not the Father; forsomuch as they say, that "the Lord sent them to destroy that place." For Christ and the Holy Comforter are sent; but the Father is never sent, but sendeth. Notwithstanding, he which departed before they came to Sodome, sending them twain thither, representeth the Father of heaven; of whom Christ and the Holy Ghost both be sent.

Gen. xix.

Now, let us see, good christian people, how this vision doth portray or paint the Trinity. As three men appeared, so there be three persons. As these three persons are named one Lord, so the Trinity is one Lord, one God. As the Father is unsent, so one of these is not sent. And as the Father sendeth Christ and the Holy Ghost into this world, so here twain be sent of one unto Sodome and Gomorrah. As the twain which were sent are called one Lord, so Christ and the Holy Ghost are but one God. Protogenes never painted Ialysus at Rhodes so excellently; nor Apelles Venus; nor Polycleetus the image of Doryphorus; as this vision doth lively declare the properties of the glorious Trinity, of which, through which, and for which, all things are. Rom. xi.

But let us search how the scripture useth to speak of the Trinity. John saith: "There are three which bear record 1 John v. on earth, the spirit, water, and blood; and these three are one." The Trinity is signified by these three. The spirit Spirit. is the Father, for Christ calleth him so, speaking of the true worshipping: "God is a spirit." And by the name of blood we may understand Christ; who for our sakes is Blood. become flesh and blood. By the name of water the Holy Water. Ghost is meant; whom our Saviour Christ calleth water, saying, "If any man thirst, let him come unto me and John iv. drink." "He that believeth on me, saith the scripture, out John vii. of his belly shall flow streams of water of life." "This spake he," saith John the evangelist, "of the Spirit, which they that believed on him should receive." Wherefore, as a spirit John x. is not blood ne water, no more is the Father, the Son, or 1 Cor. x. the Holy Ghost, but a distinct person. Christ is named also Christ. a door, a rock, a vine, bread, a bridegroom, a king, a physi- Door. cian; and his Father a husbandman. If the Father be Rock. Christ, he is the door, the rock, the vine. Yea, rather, as a Vine. husbandman and a vine be diverse things, so Christ is not the Bread. Father. The Holy Comforter is called fire, and the finger Bridegroom. of God, and the oil of gladness, and anointing; which all be King. divers things from those oftentimes that figurately be spoken Physician. of the Father¹. John vi. Luke vi. John iii. Spirit. Fire. Finger. Matt. iii. Exod. viii. Luke xi. Heb. i. 1 John ii.

[¹ This sentence stands, in both editions, as follows: "The Holy Comforter is called fire, which all be divers things from those oftentimes, and the finger of God, and the oil of gladness, and anointing, that

An
objection
answered.

John x.
John xiv.

We are.

One.

How the
Father is
seen in
Christ.

Heb. i.

A glass.

Wisd. vii.

But methink I hear some subtle, searching, and crafty-witted man reply, that as Christ and the vine, the door, the rock, be divers names of one thing; and the Holy Ghost, and oil, and fire, and anointing; that so the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost, be three names and one thing: and that the Father is called by these names, as he is called afore by the name of a husbandman. This were somewhat, if we had evident scripture that the Father is Christ, or the Holy Ghost; as we have that he is a husbandman. "And so we have", say they; "for Christ saith, 'I and my Father are one'; and, 'Whosoever seeth me, seeth my Father'." These texts pluck up this opinion by the roots. For in that he saith 'we are,' he teacheth us, that he and his Father be not one person; forasmuch as 'are' cannot be spoken of one person. And in that he saith 'one,' he declareth that he is of the self-same substance. O the deepness and exceeding power of God's word; which with two syllables, 'are' and 'one,' confoundeth two heretics, the Arian and Patripassian! The other text, declaring the Father to be seen in Christ, doth not prove them one person, but rather twain; teaching us that which St Paul writeth to his countrymen, that "he is the brightness of the Father's glory, and express image of his substance." When men look in a glass, and behold their own faces, they use to say that they see themselves; and they, and that which they see, be not all one. When they see the picture of Christ in a painted cloth, they say they see Christ. If we see Christ in his picture, if we see ourselves in a glass, much more the Father is seen in Christ; who is no counterfeit, but "the brightness of the everlasting light, the undefiled mirror of God's majesty, the lively image of the Father's substance." And forasmuch as he is the image of the Father, he is not one person with him; no more than the image of your person is yourself; or the image of my father, William Hutchinson, is my father; or the image of our noble king, Edward the sixth, is the king. God grant that virtue and knowledge may meet in his royal heart, to the confusion of evil doers and heretics! They be two persons, not two gods. For the king's image is called the king, and yet they be not two kings. figurately be spoken of the Father." The above transposition, by which the sense is restored, seems necessary and satisfactory.]

St John speaketh after the same manner, of all three together: "There are three which bear record in heaven, the Father, the Word, and the Holy Ghost, and these three are one." Doth he not teach us plainly, that God is a Trinity? Thus, to conclude this chapter: If the Father be both the Son and the Holy Ghost, he took our nature upon him, he was tempted of the devil, he suffered hunger and thirst, he was buffeted and scourged of the Jews, and put to death cruelly; and he also came down in the likeness of a dove, and in the similitude of fiery tongues; he begat himself, he sent himself, he granted himself a seat of the right hand of himself, he is an image, he is greater than himself, he is God to himself. If he cannot be these things, we may easily perceive that he, and his Son, and the Spirit, be distinct and unconfounded persons; and that this word 'person,' in the glorious Trinity, doth not signify a difference of vocation.

THE TWENTY-SECOND CHAPTER.

*A person is no outward thing: and what a person is in the godhead:
and why the church hath used this word concerning God.*

THIS word also is used for all such things as do cause favour, partiality, regard and friendship; or anger, hatred, displeasure, enmity; both in the old and new testament: as, for riches, authority, office, country, beauty; and poverty, bondage, scarcity, deformity. After this signification and acception king Josaphat, a worthy prince, an earnest promoter of godliness and learning, witnesseth, that "with God there is no unrighteousness, no regarding of persons." St Paul also telleth the Galatians, that "he looketh on no man's person;" and that without partiality he regardeth both Jew and Gentile, bond and free, man and woman. And James biddeth us to avoid such consideration and regard. But in the glorious Trinity a person is neither any outward thing, neither any condition, or difference of vocation; but, as we may gather of the scriptures, and as men learned

^{2 Chron.}
^{xix.}

^{Gal. ii.}
^{Rom. iii.}

^{James ii.}

Person. in them teach, a person in the Trinity is an unconfounded substance: or, as other define with many words, a person is a singular substance, indivisible, not confounded, declaring unto us a distinction of the godhead, and not a Trinity of gods.

Why this word is used in the god-head.

I suppose it necessary, for the understanding of this definition, to declare for what consideration and skill the faithful congregation hath evermore used this word. Forasmuch as the scripture teacheth us, and our belief telleth us, that God is three, they thought it necessary to declare what three God is: who is not three Fathers; for neither Christ is the Father, nor the Holy Comforter: nor three Sons; for the Father is not the Son, nor the Holy Ghost: nor three Holy Comforters. Then, what three is God? Hear an example. When we say, Sidrack is not Misack, nor Misack Abednago, we grant they be three. But if we will know what three they be, we must find out a more general word; that is, three men. Likewise Mary, our Saviour Christ's mother, and Mary Magdalene, and Mary of James, be three: and if we be further demanded what three they be, we answer with general word, that they be three women. Even so the congregation answereth this question, what three is God? with this general word 'person,' to declare that there is a distinction between Christ, and his Father, and the Holy Spirit. For a person is a general word, belonging also unto men, forasmuch as one man is a substance unconfounded with another; as Abraham is not Isaac, and he is not Jacob, ne Jacob is Abraham. But here we must note, that as Abraham, Isaac and Jacob are one substance, touching man's nature, that so God, albeit he be three persons, yet he is not three substances, but only one substance. If there be three substances, there be three Gods.

Some clatter and prate, that no such words as 'substance,' and 'person,' be found in God's book; and therefore that they be not to be used concerning God. What, if I shew and find them in God's book, in the bible-book, wilt thou then use them? I will shew this first; after, I will prove, that the meaning of these words may be gathered of infinite texts of scripture; thirdly, and finally concerning this treatise of a person, I will paint the Trinity by corporal similitude, whose nature itself is ineffable and incomprehensible. We

find the word substance, spoken of God, in Paul's letter to the Israelites; where he recordeth, that "our Saviour Christ is a lively image of the Father's substance." Also, in his letters to the Corinthians, he witnesseth, that to God only that belongeth which the Grecians call *ον*, the Latinists *est*; saying, *Non est in illo est et non, sed est in illo est*. We may find in the same apostle the word 'person' in the fore-said acception and signification. For in his letter to the Colossians he writeth of Christ: *Ἐν αὐτῷ κατοικεῖ πᾶν τὸ πλήρωμα τῆς θεότητος σωματικῶς*, "In him, in Christ, dwelleth all the fulness of the godhead corporally, or bodily:" that is, Christ is a divine person. For corporally in this place is as much to say, as that we call in the glorious and blessed Trinity¹ personally: as the Greek word, *σωματικῶς*, doth manifestly prove. We find also the word, *σῶμα*, spoken of the godhead in the book of the second law, otherwise named Deuteronomic. Moses, exhorting the people unto obedience and fulfilling the law, saith: "The Lord spake unto you out of fire; and you heard his voice, but you saw no image." Where the Latin text of these words, "Ye saw no image," is *Corpus non vidistis*. For the Grecians, in whose language St Paul did write this letter, at that time used this word, *σῶμα*, for that which we call now a person: and as we say there be three persons, so they acknowledged *τρία σώματα*, "three bodies." Therefore, as *σῶμα* signifieth a person, so *σωματικῶς* must needs signify personally. But because many heretics racked this word, to prove the three persons to be of corporal form and shape, the successors of the apostles were constrained to use another word for the same meaning; and so they used for it *ὑπόστασις*, which word continued in use many years. But now also this word is not used; forasmuch as some heretics would prove by it that God is three substances. For which considerations, the Grecians of more latter time use for it the word person; saying, there be *τρία πρόσωπα*, in the same meaning and understanding in which they of more ancient time confessed *τρία σώματα*, or *τρεις ὑποστάσεις*. This is the doctrine of the apostles, the confession of martyrs, the catholic church, and general faith of the congregation.

The word
substance.
Heb. i.

The word
person.

[Col. ii.]

Corporally.

Personally.

Deut. iv.

Three
bodies.

[¹ Glorious and blessed Trinity, 1550; glorious Trinity, 1560.]

THE TWENTY-THIRD CHAPTER.

That Christ is a substance.

Now I will prove, that the scripture granteth unto Christ, and to the Holy Ghost, the meaning of these words, 'substance', and 'person': that is, that Christ is an unconfounded substance, and the Holy Ghost likewise. And first I will prove, that Christ is a substance; and afterward, that they be unconfounded; and so it shall be sufficiently declared, that God is three. For a 'person' is an unconfounded substance. The word, or thought of man, is no substance, but a transitory thing. But John recordeth, that Christ is the Word of the Father: how then can he be a substance? The arch-heretic Samosaten¹ made this argument; who also denieth the three persons, saying, that the Father is Christ and the Holy Ghost both. To him I make this answer: St John in the same place telleth us, that Christ, who is the Word, is God; and that God is a substance. I have proved before in my treatise, what God is: wherefore we must needs grant, that Christ is a substance, or else deny him to be God.

John i.

Samosaten.

Tell me, Samosaten, what thou believest of the Father. Is the Father a substance, or not? Both Photinus and Servetus, thy adherents, grant this. Thou sayest also that Christ is the Father. Dost thou not confess him to be a substance, in that thou sayest he is the Father? Again, in denying him to be a substance, dost thou not deny him to be the Father?

[¹ Samosatensis, i. e. Paul of Samosata. Quod vero ad ejus impia improbataque ab omnibus dogmata pertinet; videtur aliqua ex parte a Sabellio Paulus mutuatus esse venenum, dum nullam admittens in divinitatis substantia personarum distinctionem, sed sicut unum Deum, ita pariter unam personam in divinis statuens, totum S. Ecclesiae traditum cultum atque doctrinam sanctissimæ Trinitatis penitus auferebat: sapiebat hæc namque Paulus cum Sabellio atque Judæis, sed a Sabellio discrepabat in eo, quod ille, cum unam tantum affirmaret divinam esse personam, hac assumpta propositione mendacii, illud falsissimum sequeretur, Patrem simul et Spiritum sanctum cum Filio carnem humanam sumpsisse, ac etiam crucifixos esse; Paulus vero, omnem prorsus auferens divinæ naturæ cum humana conjunctionem, Christum hominem tantum, sed justitia præditum fuisse, impudentissime diccret. Baronius, Annales Eccles. A.D. 265. Vol. ii. p. 607. Edit. 1597.]

for the Father is a substance. Thy own sayings prove Christ to be a substance, and not to be the Father. If he be the Father, as thou grantest, then is he a substance. I grant thee so much : but I deny that, of which thy assertion proveth him a substance. For no man is his word, no man is his own thought ; but Christ is the Word and Thought of the Father ; wherefore he is not the Father, no more than the words of Joseph to his brethren are Joseph himself. St John witnesseth, that the Word, which is Christ, is not a transitory word, a sounding word coming from the lights, but by a metaphor ; but an everlasting Word, by which all things were create, things that are in heaven, and things that are in earth, things visible and invisible, whether they be majesty, or lordship, either rule, or power ; saying, " all were made by it, and nothing without it." He saith also, that this Word is God. It upholdeth things, disposeth all things, governeth all : wherefore it is a substance ; for these things cannot be applied to any thing which is no substance. And if so be it be a substance², then Christ is a substance ; for Christ is the Word.

Christ is figured in the scripture by divers things. Abraham and Isaac were figures of him, and the wether which was slain for Isaac ; the stone which Jacob anointed, the ladder, Joseph sold into Egypt, Moses' rod, Josue, Sampson, the brazen serpent, a cluster of grapes, be figures of him ; which all be substances : and is he himself no substance ? We read not in holy writ, that substances and no substances be likened and compared together. The scripture beareth record of him, that he is no dead image of the Father, for " he is life and resurrection ;" neither a dumb image, for he is the Father's Word ; nor insensible, for he is wisdom ; nor counterfeit, for he is truth : but a lively and express image, and therefore a substance, forsomuch as all living things be substances. He answereth the Jews, reviling him that he said, " Abraham had seen his days," " Verily, verily, I say unto you, ere Abraham was born, I am." By which words we learn, not only that he is a substance, but also that he is both God and man : God, because nothing is, save only God ; and man, forasmuch as in man's flesh he spake. Moses saith of him, " He that is, did send me unto you : " for the Son sent him. The Son did shew himself in the likeness of fire. The Son went before

Gen. xlii.

John i.

Col. i.

Figure of
Christ.
Gen. xxii.

Gen. xxviii.

Gen. xxxvii.

Exod. vii.

Num. xxi.

Num. xlii.

John xi.

John i.

John xiv.

John viii.

Exod. iiii.

[² Be a substance, 1550 ; be substance, 1560.]

John v.

John x.

the Israelites, by day in a pillar of a cloud, and by night in a pillar of fire. He carried them to the land of promise. He appeared unto them in many likenesses and similitudes. His workmanship governed the world from the beginning; as his answer teacheth us, unto the Jews accusing him for healing a certain man on the sabbath-day, "My Father worketh hitherto, and I work." As if he should say: 'Why blame you me for working on the sabbath-day, who never ceased to work? If ye blame me, blame also my Father who worketh hitherto. If ye cannot justly accuse him, ye cannot justly blame me; for I and my Father are one. Whatsoever he doth, that doth the Son also. He ruleth all things from the beginning, and so do I. He worketh hitherto, and I work hitherto.' Our Saviour Christ teacheth us here, that he is licensed to work on the sabbath-day by the example of his Father, who worketh continually; and that the commandments of the sabbatical rest belong nothing unto him, working inseparably with his Father; and also, that he governeth all things with the Father, and is not idle; condemning and controlling the damnable opinion of the Arians and Paulians. It is needless to speak any further of this thing.

THE TWENTY-FOURTH CHAPTER.

That the Holy Spirit is a substance, not a godly inspiration: he is every where: governor of the world: to be prayed unto: a forgiver of sin.

Against the
Libertines.

BUT touching the holy Comforter, many doubt whether he be a substance or not. The Sadducees and Libertines say that all spirits¹ and angels are no substances, but inspirations, affections, and qualities: that good angels are good affections, godly motions, which God worketh in us; and that devils and evil angels are beastly affections, evil thoughts, coming of the flesh. Therefore I think it agreeable unto

[¹ All spirits, 1550; all the spirits, 1560.]

my matter, to prove the Holy Spirit to be a substance ; for unless he be so, he cannot be the third person in the ever glorious Trinity.

The book of Wisdom witnesseth, that "the Spirit of the Lord filleth the round compass of the world." We can go no whither from this Spirit ; we cannot avoid his presence, we cannot fly from him, but by flying unto him ; we cannot escape his righteousness, but by appealing to his mercy ; for there, as he is not by his favour and grace, he is by his wrath and displeasure ; where he is not a benefactor, he is a punisher ; where he is not a dweller, he is an avenger. Who can deny him to be a substance, who filleth the world ; and not the world only, but Christ also, the only Saviour of the world, of whom it is written, "Jesus, full of the Holy Ghost, returned from Jordan?" If he fill the world, he is God ; for this belongeth only to God, as I have proved before. If he be God, then is he a substance ; not an inspiration coming from God, as our English Sadducees and outlandish Libertines do teach.

The prophet Esay recordeth, that he governed the congregation of the Israelites, that he was their deliverer out of Egypt, their guide in the wilderness, the worker of wonders ; saying, "Where is he who brought them from the water of the sea, as a shepherd doth his flock? Where is he which led Moses by the right hand with his glorious arm? Where is he that led them in the deep, as an horse is led in the plain?" And he answereth : "The Spirit of the Lord led them, as a tame beast goeth in the field." He governeth also the present congregation : for Christ promiseth that "he would pray the Father to send us another Comforter, to abide with us for ever." And Paul testifieth, that "the Spirit giveth to one utterance of wisdom, to another faith, to another gifts of healing, to another power to do miracles, to another prophecy, to another judgment of spirits, to another diverse tongues, to another interpretation ;" which be necessary offices in the congregation : so that the Holy Spirit may say also, "The Father worketh hitherto, and so do I ;" for he worketh inseparably with the Father and the Son. Whereof it must needs follow, that he is a substance, and that he is God. For the governance of the

Wisd. i.
The spirit is
every where.
Psal. cxxxix.

Luke iv.

Isai. lxiii.

Governor of
the world.

John xiv.

1 Cor. xii.

world belongeth to the majesty of the godhead, as I have proved before.

If he were nothing but a godly motion, a good affection, and inspiration; he would not, ne could, have shewed himself in the likeness of a dove, and in the similitude of fiery tongues. He is the finger of God. He is fire, oil, anointing, water, an advocate, a coal; for all these the scripture giveth him. Wherefore he is a substance; forasmuch as all these be substances, not inspirations: for the scripture doth not liken substances to things that be no substances. He is also to be prayed unto, to be called upon: for what is baptism, but an invocation of the Father, the Son, and the Holy Spirit? and therefore a substance. No man prayeth unto an inspiration; no man crieth to an affection. Our praying unto him proveth him to hear us, to be Almighty God, to be everywhere, to know the thoughts of all men. But nothing heareth, nothing searcheth thoughts, but a substance. Then he cannot be a thought, a motion, coming from God. Yea, rather, these properties prove him to be the third person in the ever-glorious Deity. "That Comforter," saith Christ, "the Holy Ghost, whom my Father will send in my name, he shall teach you all." If he be a teacher, he must needs be a substance. If he be an inspiration, he is the doctrine which is taught, not the teacher thereof. He gave Symon an answer, that he should not see death, before he had seen the Lord Christ. He, through the mouth of David, spake before of Judas. He at Antioch commandeth to separate Barnabas and Paul to the work whereunto he had called them. He forbiddeth them to preach God's word in Asia. St Luke, eighth of the Acts, telleth that he monished Philip to join himself to the chariot of the eunuch¹. Do not these texts prove him to govern the congregation? Do they not witness him to be mindful of both good and evil? Do they not deny him to be an inspiration coming from God? Do they not fortify him to be a substance, to be the third person, to be God? St Peter, when he saith, "Holy men of God spake by the inspiration of the Holy Ghost," putteth a plain difference between him and an inspiration: for he is not the inspiration, but the worker thereof,

[¹ This word is substituted for a synonymous expression used by Hutchinson.]

Matt. iii.

Acts ii.

Exod. viii.

Luke xi.

Heb. i.

1 John ii.

John vii.

Isai. vi.

To be
prayed
unto.

John xiv.

Luke ii.

Acts i.
Acts xiii.

Acts xvi.

Acts viii.

2 Pet. i.

the sender of it. Wherefore, as the workman is not his work, as Protogenes is not Ialysus, Apelles is not Venus, the carpenter is not the house; no more is the Holy Spirit an inspiration.

He also forgiveth sin, maketh us the sons of God; for we are christened in his name. And, that we should believe that the Holy Spirit worketh in baptism, it pleased the almighty Trinity that he should notably appear at Christ's baptizing. For this consideration the holy Comforter at that time shewed himself in the likeness of a dove. Doth any angel forgive sin, or archangel? No, truly. This belongeth to the Father only, the Son only, the Holy Ghost only. But methinketh one replieth: 'Seraphin speaketh unto the prophet Esay, "Behold, this hath touched thy mouth, and thine unrighteousness is taken away, and thy sin forgiven."' He saith not, 'I have taken it away;' but 'this', speaking of a hot coal taken from the altar with the tongs; not charcoal, not seacoal, but the coal of the Holy Ghost; who may be well called a coal, for he is fire. The patient man Job telleth us, that "Almighty God garnished the heavens with his Spirit, and with his hand wounded the rebellious serpent:" with whom David agreeth, saying, "By the Word of the Lord were the heavens made, and all the hosts of them by the Spirit of his mouth." Wherefore in the work of creation Moses maketh relation of him, telling us, that "the Spirit of God was borne upon the waters." Basil², who for his great learning was surnamed *magnus*, expoundeth this place of the Holy Ghost; and saith that his predecessors took it so: for the word 'spirit' cannot signify wind there, which was then not made. "Was borne upon the waters," is no blowing; but as much to say as, 'he sat on the waters.' For as the hen, sitting on her eggs, hatcheth her young ones; so the Holy Ghost hatched all creatures, which there are called waters, as it is written: "When thou lettest thy Spirit go forth, they are made; so thou renewest the face of the earth." Is the garnisher of the heavens, maker of the world, forgiver of sins, mindful of the congregation, no substance, but a phantasy, an imagination?

And here I suppose it be agreeable unto my matter, to speak somewhat of all good angels in general, and evil spirits; for if I can prove them to be no motions, but substances,

[² See note at p. 64.]

much more the holy Comforter is a substance. But if it be beside our purpose, yet it shall be a profitable and necessary digression. For there be many late Libertines, and late English Sadducees, which would teach out of scripture, that there is neither place of rest ne pain after this life; that hell is nothing else but a tormenting and desperate conscience; and that a joyful, quiet, and merry conscience is heaven; and that devils are evil thoughts, and good angels good thoughts. First, if this doctrine be true, we believe in vain the resurrection of our bodies; which is grounded of scripture, and nothing else. So that if you believe scripture, this is a false, pretended, and damnable doctrine. "If our bodies shall not rise, then is Christ not risen," saith Paul, "and all preaching is vanity. But our bodies be dead through the sin of Adam, and shall be raised through the righteousness of Christ Jesus. By a man came death of soul and body, and by a man cometh resurrection of soul and body." Were not many christian men baptized over dead men's graves in the primitive church, in token that the dead should rise again? St Paul, in his fifteenth chapter to the Corinthians, the first letter, doth nothing else but confute this damnable opinion of the Sadducees denying the resurrection; which now the Libertines begin to renew. But our Sadducees grant the resurrection. They say, 'We must rise from sin, if we will come to heaven, which is a merry and joyful conscience.' There be two sorts of resurrections expressed in God's word, of which it is written: "Likewise as Christ was raised up from death by the glory of the Father, even so we also should walk in a new life." This new life is resurrection from sin. Christ's raising is the other resurrection; that is, of the body, which began in Christ, the first-fruits of the dead. For Paul saith, "He that raised up Christ from death, shall quicken our mortal bodies:" and in another place, "It shall rise a spiritual body." Our Sadducees, because they either will not, or cannot perceive the difference between these two sorts of resurrection, which both are in scripture, grant in words and deny in deed both heaven and hell, both good angels and ill; defending all resurrection to be from sin to virtue, from vice to godliness, from uncleanness to sanctification. Resurrection from sin is but a figure of the other resurrection. For Paul saith: "Christ being once raised from death," not from sin, who never sinned,

Resurrec-
tion.

1 Cor. xv.

Two sorts of
resurrec-
tion, from
sin, from
death.
Rom. vi.

Rom. viii.

1 Cor. xv.

Rom. vi.

"dieth no more....Likewise imagine ye also, that ye are dead concerning sin, but are alive to God." Then it disannulleth not resurrection of bodies, but fortifieth the same; forasmuch as if there be a shadow, there must needs be a body.

Now let us search what the scripture teacheth us of good angels, and believe them. For all scripture, given by ^{Angels.} 2 Tim. iii. inspiration of God, is profitable to teach, to control, to amend; and it is truth. No man can deny angels to be creatures, and ^{John xvii.} Almighty God's workmanship, as Paul witnesseth: "He maketh his angels spirits, and his ministers flames of fire." How then are they inspirations? Luke registereth, that at Christ's ^{Heb. i.} birth a multitude of heavenly soldiers, which were angels, sung, "Glory to God on high; and peace in earth, and rejoicing to men." Therefore they be no inspirations. Did an inspiration appear to priest Zacharie, burning incense in ^{Luke ii.} the temple? Did an inspiration shew him that Elizabeth his wife should bear him a son? Did an inspiration make him speechless? No, truly; for the angel telleth what he is, saying, "I am Gabriel, that standeth in the sight of God, and am sent to speak unto thee." In that he saith 'I stand,' and 'I am sent,' he declareth that he is a substance. And if Gabriel be a substance, the rest be also substances. They ^{Luke xv.} rejoyce over every sinner that repenteth, they behold the face ^{Matt. xviii.} of the Father in heaven, they assist and bear us up in their ^{Psal. xci.} hands, they carry Lazarus into Abraham's bosom, they minister unto Christ after his temptation, they delivered the law ^{Luke xvi.} unto the Israelites, they shall come to the general judgment ^{Matt. iv.} with Christ; and after the resurrection we¹ shall be made like ^{Acts vii.} unto them. If they be inspirations, tell me how speaking, singing, standing, sending, joy, seeing, punishing, hands, help, and infinite other things which the scripture giveth to angels, can be in an inspiration, and without a substance.

Methinketh² this assertion hath affinity with the doating opinion of transubstantiation. For our Romanists, although they more stubbornly than truly, and more obstinately than devoutly, defend that no bread remaineth after the consecration; yet they cannot deny but that many accidents remain; as the colour of bread, the taste of bread, breadth, length, and other; the which cannot be in the comfortable

[¹ We, 1550; they, 1560.]

[² Thinketh, 1550; think, 1560.]

and sweet flesh of Christ. Wherefore either the substance of bread remaineth, or else we must say with the papists, that these things be without a substance. The which is, as if we should say, 'There is sickness, and there is health; there is cold and heat, moisture and drith; but there is no such thing as a body.' An angel of the Lord comforteth Agar, the Egyptian, beside the well of the Seer¹, and commandeth her to return to her mistress. Abraham promiseth his servant, that an angel shall aid and further him in his journey. Jacob, when he blesseth Ephraim and Manasses, prayeth that the angel of the Lord, which had been his succour at all times, might bless and multiply them. We read that an angel governeth the hosts of the Israelites; an angel of the Lord killeth thousands of the Assyrians; angels certify women of Christ's resurrection, and the disciples of his glorious return. Wherefore they be no inspirations, no motions, coming from God; but spiritual substances and "ministering spirits, sent to minister for their sakes which shall be heirs of salvation."

Gen. xvi.

Gen. xxiv.

Gen. xlviii.

2 Kings xix.

Luke xxiv.
Acts i.

Heb. i.

[Terent.
Eunuch.
Act. ii. sc.3.]

Now, as I have spoken of good angels, so I think it no less needful somewhat to speak of evil angels. For there be many late-born Sadducees, which have persuaded their own wavering minds, and allure the consciences of others to the foresaid opinion, that the devil is nothing but *nolitum*, or a filthy affection coming of² the flesh, and swerving from honesty, virtue and godliness. I think such have either already said in their hearts, "There is no God;" or that they may as easily be brought thereunto, as Cherea was unto Pamphila. Cherea durst not jeopard in his own apparel, but feigned himself to be another. Even so our late Sadducees and Libertines will not reason these things stiffly for disturbing the commonwealth, or rather for losing their lives: but it is to be feared, that under the colour of Christians they say they reason in the way of disputation, when they speak from the bottom of their hearts. If any man wince at my writing, he declareth that he is a Sadducee. If there be a God, as we most stedfastly must believe, verily there is a devil also; and if there be a devil, there is no surer argument, no stronger proof, no plainer evidence,

[¹ Of the secr, 1550; of Seer, 1560.][² Affection coming of, 1550; affection of, 1560.]

that there is a God. Be not all evil angels spirits? Then are they not sensual motions, but spiritual substances. But I will leave arguments, and call truth to witness. Let us ask the scripture what the devil is: let us inquire of Peter and Paul: let the prophets and the evangelists testify. St Peter saith, that "our adversary the devil walketh about like ^{1 Pet. v.} a roaring lion, seeking whom he may devour." He compareth him to a lion; he walketh, he seeketh. And the chosen ^{Eph. vi.} vessel, Paul, warneth us to "put on the armour of God, that we may stand stedfast against the crafty assaults of the devil: forasmuch as we wrestle, noe against flesh and blood, but against rule, against power, against worldly ruler of the darkness of this world, against spiritual wickedness for heavenly things." He maketh a difference between the devil and his assaults, which be beastly affections, saying, "Against the crafty assaults of the devil;" and he calleth them rulers, powers; wherefore they be no fleshy motions.

But you will say: 'He calleth them spiritual wickednesses; ^[Andria. Act. iii. sc. 5.] a wickedness is no substance.' So Terence calleth Davus ^[Orat. in Catilin. i. 5.] *scelus*; Tully calleth Cataline *pestis*; so the scripture calleth ^{John i.} God love, truth, and light; and ill men darkness. We read ^{Job i.} in the story of Job, that when the servants of God came and stood before the Lord, Satan came also among them: and God talketh with him, and he answereth, that he had walked through the land; and craveth of God to suffer him to scourge Job; without whose leave he could do nothing. After, he raiseth the Sabees against Job; he killeth his servants; he slayeth his children; he smiteth him with marvelous sore boils from the sole of his foot unto his crown, so that he scraped away the filth of them with a potsherd. Did an affection work these things, or a spiritual rule and substance? To deceive wicked king Achab, he promiseth that he will be ^{1 Kings xxii.} a lying spirit in the mouth of four hundred prophets; he vexeth king Saul; Christ seeth him as lightning falling down ^{1 Sam. xvi.} from heaven; he blindeth all those that believe not the gospel; he worketh all iniquity; he seduced Adam and Eve; he is the enemy which soweth tares to destroy the seed of ^{Luke x.} everlasting life, that is, of God's word; he is the strong ^{Matt. xiii.} harnessed man, and spiritual Pharaoh, overcome of our Saviour Christ; he is the governor that ruleth in the air, and ^{Luke xi.} king of this world; he setteth Christ on the pinnacle of the ^{Eph. ii.} ^{Matt. iv.}

temple, and on a high mountain sheweth him the glory of the world; he buffeteth St Paul, lest he should be exalted out of measure through the abundance of revelations; he striveth with Mighel the archangel, and disputeth about the body of Moses; he shall cast the faithful congregation into prison for ten days; he is the dragon cast out of heaven by the blood of the lamb, and pursuing the woman. Then he is no fleshly motion, unless our Saviour Christ had such beastly motions; unless also heaven were full of such, which was full of traitorous angels. In the country of the Gargasites two devils, seeing Christ, cried out, "What have we to do with thee, O Jesu, Son of God? art thou come hither to torment us before the time?" and they beseech him of leave to go into the herd of swine. Do affections cry, talk, kill, smite, fall from heaven, tempt Christ, pursue the church? Christ telleth us they shall be punished in the fire with the wicked, saying: "Depart from me, ye cursed, into everlasting fire, which is prepared for the devil and his angels." St Peter saith, that "God spared not his angels that sinned, but cast them down into hell, and delivered them into chains of darkness to be kept unto damnation." Paul commanded the Corinthians, to "deliver him which held his father's wife to Satan, for the destruction of the flesh." He meaneth not that they should give him over to the lusts of the flesh, and suffer him to abide in vain pleasures. Wherefore devils are no fleshly lusts, carnal motions, sensual affections. "Devils believe and tremble," saith James. They confess Christ to be the Son of God; as in the evangelists we may read more than once or twice. But I think our Sadducees will be edified more by a conjurer, than by the words of godliness. Wherefore I send them to conjurers, sorcerers, enchanters, charmers, witches; which will learn and persuade them that there be devils, and that they be not lusts of the flesh, but spiritual substances and spirits created for vengeance; which now, in the end of the world, shall pour out their strength, to pluck the Lamb of God out of the minds of all men. If therefore all angels, both good and evil, be substances, and not godly or beastly lusts; much more God the Holy Ghost, maker of all spirits, knower of thoughts, governor of the church, forgiver of sins, hatcher of the creatures, filler of all places, is a spiritual substance, and no inspiration.

2 Cor. xii.

Jude i.

Rev. ii.

[Rev. xii.]

Matt. viii.

Matt. xxv.

2 Pet. ii.

1 Cor. v.

James ii.

Matt. viii.

Eccclus.
xxxviii.

THE TWENTY-FIFTH CHAPTER.

Christ is unconfounded : why he became man : why he was born of a woman : he took both the soul and body of man : why he chose a virgin to be born of, and why a virgin hand-fused and married : why he was a babe at his beginning, not an able man, as Adam was at his first creation : why he came so long after Adam's fall : why he was baptized, tempted, crucified, &c.

Now, albeit both Christ be a substance, and the Holy Ghost also, yet it doth not follow that they be two persons in the superglorious Trinity : for they may be both one, as the Sabellians do teach. Wherefore now I will prove that they be unconfounded : the which being proved, no man can doubt hereafter but they be two persons ; for a person is an unconfounded substance. We may learn out of God's book, that neither the Father, nor the Holy Comforter, took man's nature upon them ; but Christ only. For as through a natural man we were banished out of paradise, made the children of everlasting damnation, so it pleased the almighty Trinity, neither by an angel, or archangel, but by a natural man, to restore us again, and make us heirs of¹ salvation ; as 1 Cor. xv. Paul witnesseth : " By a man came death, and by a man cometh resurrection of the dead. For as by Adam all die, even so by Christ all be made alive." And the will of God was, that he should be born of a woman. God sent his Son, *factum ex muliere*, " born, or made, of a woman." But why was Christ born of a woman ? Truly, because sin and death overflowed the world through the first woman, he worketh the mystery of life and righteousness by another woman ; that the blame of sin should not be imputed to his creature, which is good, but to the will by which Eve sinned. For seeing he is a Saviour both of men and women, he becometh man, forso much as man is the better kind ; yet he is born of a woman, that we should believe him to be a Saviour of women also ; so that his birth of a woman, and his be-

Why Christ
became
man.

Why he was
born of a
woman.

[¹ Of, 1550 ; to, 1560.]

coming man, declareth him to be mindful of both kinds. But here we must note, that Christ took man's nature upon him, not by the turning of his godhead into his manhead, but by assuming of manhead unto his godhead; not by confusion or mixture of substance, but by unity of person. "For as the reasonable soul and the fleshly body is one man, so the deity and humanity is one Christ."

When I say, 'Christ took our nature upon him,' I mean not, that he took flesh only, as some heretics have thought, but the soul of man also; forasmuch as he is no half Saviour, but a Redeemer of both. For he witnesseth of himself, *Tristis est anima mea*, "My soul is sad unto death;" and, "I have power to put my soul from me, and I have power to take it again; no man taketh it from me." David speaketh also in his behalf: "Thou shalt not leave my soul in hell, neither shalt thou suffer thy saint to see corruption." Some are moved to think, that Christ took not man's soul upon him, but the body only, because his beloved disciple saith, *Verbum caro factum est*, "The Word was made flesh," making no mention of a soul. St John saith, "The Word was made flesh;" as Paul recordeth, that "by the deeds of the law no flesh shall be justified." The which in another place he saith more plainly: "Through the law no man shall be justified;" understanding by the word flesh, not the body only, but the whole man, both body and soul. This manner of speaking is often in the scripture; for David saith, "Thou hearest the prayer, therefore all flesh cometh unto thee:" 'all flesh,' for 'all men.' And note here a vehemency in the words, 'thou hearest;' as if he should say: 'We pray to thee, for we do know that thou dost hear; but of other we know not that they hear; and therefore we only call on thy name.' Thus did the old patriarchs. This was their faith. We never read that they prayed to any creature. And Jeremy curseth him "that maketh flesh his arm," that is, "putteth his trust in man." And John Baptist testifieth, that "all flesh shall see the Saviour sent of God." So John the evangelist saith, "The Word was made flesh;" as if he had said, 'The Word was made man, took man's flesh and nature; which Word is Christ.' I have declared before why he is named a Word, and what manner of Word he is.

But whereof was he made flesh? Of what matter and

Christ took
both soul
and body.

Mark xiv.
John x.

Psal. xvi.

An
objection
answered.

John i.

Rom. iii.

Gal. iii.

Psal. lxxv.

Jer. xvii.

Luke iii.

Against the
late Ana-
baptists.

stuff was his humanity shapen? Or did he bring it out of heaven? No, truly. The first Adam's flesh was formed of the earth, as it is written: "Then the Lord God shaped man of the mould of the earth." And whereof the second Adam's flesh was made, the blessed apostle St Paul telleth, saying: "When the fulness of time was expired, God sent his Son, *factum ex muliere*, made or born of a woman." He did not pass through her, as water gusheth through a pipe or conduit; but took part of her substance and nature. Wherefore the prophet Esay nameth him a "flower," or blossom, coming out of the root of Jesse. Salomon nameth him "a lily," and "a rose among thorns." Doth not every flower take his nature of the body and stock out of which it groweth? Doth not the lily and rose likewise? Are grapes gathered of thorns, or figs of apple trees? Besides this, it was needful that the same flesh should be punished on the tree, which offended in eating of the fruit of the tree; that the same flesh should be justified and rise in righteousness, which died in sin and unrighteousness. "For by a man," saith Paul, "came death, and by a man cometh resurrection of the dead. And as by the disobedience of one man many became dead, so by the obedience of one man many be made alive." Weigh and consider the comparison that Paul maketh between the first Adam and the second Adam, in the fifth to the Romans, and it destroyeth this opinion utterly. Besides, St Paul saith, that we be "flesh of his flesh, and bones of his bones," speaking of Christ: *Membra sumus de corpore ejus, de carne ejus, et de ossibus ejus*, "We are members of his body, of his flesh, and of his bones." But how are we, good christian people, "flesh of Christ's flesh," except he be flesh of Mary's flesh, and bones of Mary's bones? Besides, he did suck his mother, and took his nourishment out of her sweet breasts: for we read that a certain woman came unto him, and said, *Beatus venter qui te portavit, et ubera quæ suxisti*; "Happy is the womb that bare thee, and the paps which gave thee suck." Neither Christ, who is truth, doth not reprove her as a liar. Wherefore we must needs grant, that he took his nature, substance, manhood, and flesh, of her.

I do touch this matter, because, not long sith, I communed with a certain woman which denied this point. And

- when I and my well-beloved friend Thomas Lever¹, and others, alleged this text against her opinion, *Semen mulieris conteret caput serpentis*, "The seed of the woman shall grind or break the serpent's head," she answered: "I deny not that Christ is Mary's seed, or the woman's seed; nor I deny him not to be a man; but Mary had two seeds, one seed of her faith, and another seed of her flesh and in her body. There is a natural and a corporal seed, and there is a spiritual and an heavenly seed, as we may gather of St John, where he saith, "The seed of God remaineth in him, and he cannot sin." And Christ is her seed; but he is become man of the seed of her faith and belief; of spiritual seed, not of natural seed; for her seed and flesh was sinful, as the flesh and seed of others." The seed which is promised unto Adam is named to be *semen mulieris*, "the seed of a woman:" the same is the seed of Eve; the selfsame afterward is called the seed of Abraham, of Jacob, the seed of David, and of the blessed virgin. But the seed that St John speaketh of is *semen Dei*, the seed of God; that is, the Holy Spirit; not Abraham's seed, David's seed, or Mary's seed. How can it be their seed, which took no substance of them? Further, the same promise is renewed unto Abraham, Jacob, David, and others, with all these special words, that of their wombs, of their bodies, of their fruit, of their bellies, of their loins, of their flesh, the Saviour of the world shall be born; not of their faith, of their belief. Wherefore it must needs be a fleshly, a natural, and a corporal seed, of which Christ was made man, maugre the head of the devil and all heretics.
- An objection.
- 1 John iii. "He took not," saith Paul, "on him the angels; but the seed of Abraham taketh he on him." Now the spiritual seed is in angels more plentifully than in men; forsomuch as they be not depressed with the gross lump of the body. And that we should firmly believe and stedfastly credit, *ex quibus Christus est secundum carnem*, "that he is of the fathers concerning the flesh," St Matthew and St Luke reckon his kindred, fetch his stock and generation, from Adam, Enok, Noe, Abraham, David, Salomon, Roboam, Zorobabel, &c.
- The answer.
- Gen. xxii.²
Gen. xxvi.
Sam. vii.
1 Chron. ii.
Psal. cxxxii.
- Heb. ii.
- Rom. ix.
- Matt. i.
Luke iii.

[¹ I and my well-beloved friend Thomas Lever and others, 1550; I and Master Whytehead, Thomas Lever and others, 1560.]

[² In the edition of 1550, this and the four following references are inserted in the text as well as in the margin.]

Moreover, Christ came, not only to die for our sins, but also to be an ensample unto us, and a perfect pattern of good living; as shall be declared afterward. "Forsomuch, then, Heb. ii. as we be partakers of flesh and blood, he also *participavit eisdem*, took part with us." If he took other flesh, not made of his mother, but of what matter it pleased him, he took no part with us, neither doth his ensample belong unto us. He is our brother: for St Paul saith, "He is not ashamed to call them brethren, saying, I will declare thy name unto my brethren." Now brethren be of one nature and substance, touching their flesh and body. Therefore she that denieth Christ to have taken his flesh of his mother, is not the sister of Christ, but the eldest and firstborn daughter of antichrist. Yet she pretended that she believed that Christ was a true and natural man: but indeed she denieth his manhood. For if he had any manhood or humanity, as no doubt he had, he had it undoubtedly of his mother; or else he was no man. If he had it not of his mother, define and shew from whence he had it. Yea, they say, it is unknown and undefined in the scriptures. How then can we warrant Christ's humanity against heretics, if we make it uncertain whereof he took it, and if it be unknown whereof it was shapen?

But albeit he took flesh of his mother, yet it was holy Why he was born of a virgin. flesh, not sinful flesh, that he took; forsomuch as it was conceived and wrought by the overshadowing of the Holy Ghost. Albeit the seed and flesh of other be sinful, yet hers was not so; but sanctified by the Holy Spirit, and most clean. For to her it was said, *Benedicta tu inter mulieres*, "Blessed art thou amongst women." He is *lapis de monte* Dan. ii. *excisus sine manibus, comminuens, &c.* the stone of which Daniel recordeth, that was "cut out of the hill without hands," which hath and shall break into powder the golden, silver, brazen, and iron kingdoms; that is, the four monarchies and empires, of the Chaldies and Babylonians, of the Medies and Persies, of the Macedonians and Greeks, and of the Romans. The hill out of which this stone is taken, is the tribe and house of Juda, which dwelt and was situate upon mount Sion in Jerusalem: and by the words, "without hands," is meant, that this stone, without man's seed, man's help and nature, came out of the foresaid hill; in that he

took his flesh on no earthly father, but only of the substance of Mary his mother, of whose breasts the said flesh was nourished afterward. Christ was conceived of the Holy Ghost, not the Father : who, touching his humanity, hath no father upon earth ; as concerning his divinity, he hath no mother in heaven. Further, he was born of a virgin ; forso much as virginity is a far more honourable thing than wedlock. The blessed virgin, *credendo, non concumbendo, gravis facta est*, 'was made fruitful by faith, not by man's help ;' by the Spirit, not by lechery. For it was seeming that the unspotted lamb Jesus Christ, who should blot out our sins as the fire melteth the wax, that he should be born without all original sin.

Luke i.
Matt. i.
Isai. vii.

Matt. i.

Why he was
born of a
virgin es-
poused and
married.
Matt. i.

The god-
head is
undefilable.

Christ is not
the Holy
Ghost's son.

John iii.

Notwithstanding he was born *ex virgine desponsata*, 'of a virgin handfasted and married ;' partly that the young virgin should not be destitute of a helper, a keeper, a nourisher, in her adversity and travail, and her progress to¹ Egypt ; partly also, that none should recount wedlock unclean, or matrimony unpure, forso much as he vouchsafed to be born therein. Neither is it any dishonour, any defacing to the divine nature, that Christ, who filleth all the world, filled the womb of the blessed virgin : no, not if her flesh had been sinful and unsanctified. For his divinity is not defiled thereby, no more than the sun shining upon carrion and filthy jakes is dishonoured or defiled through their stinking scents ; or rather, much less, for he made the sun. For the divinity is said to be undefilable, not because it toucheth nothing unclean, but because it continueth clean, whatsoever it toucheth. Wherefore he was not defiled with the virgin's womb, but sanctified it, hallowed it with his presence, and made it most clean ; and chose himself a mother in earth, because before he had a Father in heaven.

If any man think, because Christ was born of the Holy Ghost, that he is the Holy Ghost's son, let him not be deceived ; for it is no sure reason, if any thing be born of another, to make it straight the son thereof ; as for example, we are born of water, and yet we are not the sons of water ; we are born of the Holy Ghost, and yet we are not the sons of the Holy Ghost, but the sons of our heavenly Father. Also lice, hairs, and lumbricks, are bred and gendered of man, and

[¹ To, 1550 ; into, 1560.]

yet nobody calleth them the sons of man. Likewise many are called the sons of some, and yet they cannot be said to be born of them; as Æschinus is son to Micio, and yet not born of him. And the scripture calleth them *filius mortis*, "the sons of death," the sons [of] Bellial, the children of the devil, the children of sin and perdition, the sons of wrath, the sons of hell, which were never born of it, but made unto ignominy; and *filius dilectionis*, "the sons of love," the sons of light, of promise, of strength, of the kingdom; not born of it, but such as shall be fellow-heirs with Christ, and are prepared for the kingdom. So our Saviour Christ is said to be conceived of the holy Comforter, and born of him; and yet he is not his son, but the only Son of God the Father; unto whom we be also sons, but we be the sons of promise; he is the son begotten, we be sons through adoption. Christ is the Son of God by nature; forasmuch as the scripture is, that he was conceived of the Holy Ghost; who, being God, became man. We cannot gather thereof, that he is Christ's Father; for touching his human nature, he was born without a Father, as touching his other nature, he lacked a mother; but rather we may reason, that he is his mother; for the mother conceiveth, not the father; and so he shall have two mothers, the which is impossible. Wherefore he is the only Son of God the Father.

[Terent.
Adelph. Act.
i. sc. 2.]

1 Sam. x.
2 Sam. xii.
Judg. xix.
1 Sam. ii.
John. xvii.

Psal.
lxxxviii.

Coloss. i.
Eph. v.

Rom. ix.
2 Sam. ii.
Matt. viii.

But why is he born a babe, and a little one, not an able man, as Adam was? Adam was made an able man, because he was made after the image of God, not in sinful flesh through any sin of man. But his posterity and offspring are born babes, forasmuch as they are born in sinful flesh, as David witnesseth, saying: *Ecce enim in iniquitatibus*, &c. "Behold," saith David, "I was born in wickedness, and my mother conceived me in sin." Unreasonable beasts, as the calf, the little lamb, the whelp, as soon as they are born, can go, run, find out their mother's teats and suck them, without any help of other. Only man, when he is born, can neither occupy his tongue in speaking, nor feet in going, nor his hands to find; and except his mother, or nurse, thrust her breast unto his lips, he knoweth not where they are, nor what to do; and would cry for hunger, yea, famish, before he would suck of his own accord. This infirmity is in our bodies when we be young, because Adam and Eve sinned when they were

Matt. ii.

Why all men
be born
babes, not
able men.

old ; forasmuch as then our minds also be weak and blind through the same sin, that the feebleness of the body might be agreeable to the ignorance of the mind. For as both
 Gen. iii. body and soul sinned in eating the apple, the mind in lusting, the body in taking ; so both are punished, the body with infirmity, the mind with ignorance. Now our Saviour Christ, albeit he were not born in sinful flesh, yet, because he was
 Rom. viii. born¹ in the likeness of this sinful flesh, he was born a babe ; not of perfect bigness, like Adam. His flesh was not sinful indeed, but holy and undefiled ; yet it seemeth sinful in that he took both this and all other human infirmities, as hunger, thirst, cold, heat, poverty, death, upon him, which overflowed the world through sin. *Misit Deus Filium suum*, "God sent his Son." His coming is his incarnation, and his sending likewise. The Father is not said to come, or to be sent, because he was not incarnate. That the coming and sending of Christ is to be taken of his incarnation, we may perceive by this. For who cometh there, where he is already ? or who is sent thither ? But Christ is everywhere touching his divinity ; for he is the wisdom of the Father, which reacheth from one end to another mightily, and ordereth all things lovingly. Seeing, therefore, he is everywhere, how cometh he where he was not, but by² appearing in his humanity ?

But it is a great question, why God sent his Son, *cum venit plenitudo temporis*, "in the fulness of time ;" why he came no sooner, but in the ends of the world. If he had come long before, many had been saved which have perished. For sith his incarnation, many mo have believed him than did in time past ; for he is "the light shining in darkness." Gal. iv. Truly, he came when he saw his coming should be most profitable ; not being moved thereunto through the consideration of our merits, but of his own voluntary goodness ; for our deservings did not constrain him to come. Wherefore we cannot blame him for the loss before his incarnation ; for it was not undeserved, it was a just loss. Can the thief blame the judge for condemning him according to the law ? Or is the physician to be blamed, coming of his own accord to heal the patient, if he tarry long ? He came therefore, when it pleased him, when he knew he should be most welcome. If

Christ's
coming or
sending,
what it is.

Why Christ
came in the
end of the
world.

[¹ Was born, 1550 ; was not born, 1560.]

[² Not, but by, 1550 ; not by, 1560.]

thou help one before his need, he doth not take it so thankfully as when thou succourest him in great need. The hungry man, who hath need of meat, will thank thee more for it than he which hath plenty. The poor will give thee more abundant thanks for thy money than the rich. Before the time of Christ's coming men were not needy, they were not hungry; but thought themselves righteous, rich in all good works, true keepers of the law. Wherefore it was necessary that the preaching of the law should go before his coming; by which men should learn that they had need of a physician: "For by the law cometh knowledge of sin." The law is, *securis ad arborem posita*, "the axe which shall hew down all those that bring not forth good fruits." The law is a glass, wherein we may behold our nakedness, our unclean thoughts, our filthy living. *Lex subintravit*, "The law," saith Paul, "entered in, that sin should increase." "Where abundance of sin is, there," as he recordeth, "also is more plenteousness of grace" of the part of the giver, and more thank of the part of the patient; forasmuch as the sick thanketh the physician, not the whole man. Wherefore Christ, the physician of our souls, would not come but to help the wounded man, to call sinners unto repentance, to seek the sheep which was lost. For this cause God, the Son of God, equal with his Father, in the end of the world humbled himself to our nature, to deliver us from the bondage of the spiritual Pharaoh, the devil; who held us prisoners perforce, until Christ entered into his house, which is the world, and bound him, and bereaved him of his goods. This is the fulness of time of which Paul speaketh, saying: "When the fulness of time was come, God sent his Son, born of a woman." The warrior which will deceive his enemies, putteth away his own apparel, and clotheth himself in their apparel, that he may safely go into their region, and behold all their provision, and afterward easily overcome them: so our Saviour Jesus Christ, in the latter end of the world, did deck and clothe himself with our nature, to deceive and conquer the devil, who had seduced and conquered mankind in the likeness of a serpent: which policy is figured long before in Jacob, who stealeth away the blessing from his brother Esau in his brother's raiment. Did the Father and the Holy Ghost take our nature upon them? Were they born of a wo-

Rom. ii.

Rom. iii.

Matt. iii.
The law is
an axe.

Rom. v.

Luke x.

Matt. ix.
Matt. xviii.

Gen. xxvii.

man? Were they conceived of the Holy Ghost? Were they born little babes? Did they use this policy to deceive the devil? If not, then is Christ unconfounded with them. Christ also was baptized; not the Father, nor the Holy Ghost. For the Father soundeth¹ these words at his baptism, "This is my beloved Son, in whom is my delight;" and "the Holy Ghost descendeth like a dove, and sitteth upon him."

Matt. iii.

Why Christ
was bap-
tized.

Wherefore is he christened? Not for any spot of sin, any crumb of uncleanness in him; but for our erudition and ensample. For if he came to be baptized of John his servant, how necessary is baptism for us which be his servants, and defiled with original and actual trespasses! If he required baptism of him, disdain not thou to be christened of thy inferior; despise not baptism, be thou never so holy, never so perfect; have no light opinion of it. If it were a light thing, Christ would not have required it for our example.

Why
tempted.

Matt. iv.

Deut. viii.
Wisd. xvi.

Psal. xci.

Deut. vi.

Christ also fasted after baptism, and was tempted of the devil. He fasted for our example, and was tempted for our victory. He was tempted in all sin, and overcometh, teaching us by his example how to overcome. The devil tempteth him with the lusts of the flesh, with lust of the eyes, and with the desire of worldly promotion. With lust of the flesh, saying, "If thou be the Son of God, speak that these stones be made bread." But Christ answereth, teaching us to fight in like case, "Man shall not live by bread only, but by every word that cometh out of the mouth of God." He tempteth him with the lust of the eyes², bidding him cast himself down from the pinnacle, because it was written that angels had charge over him. Christ answereth: "Thou shalt not tempt thy Lord God³." He tempteth him with desire of promotion, carrying him unto⁴ the mountain, and promising him the glory of the world. But he who made all the world, refused worldly honour; and teacheth us that God only is to be worshipped. All sin is contained in the devil's three temptations, and all virtue in

[¹ Soundeth, 1550; sounded, 1560.]

[² With the lust of the eyes, 1550. These words are omitted in the edition of 1560, and are inserted four lines below after *promotion*.]

[³ Thy Lord God, 1550; thy Lord thy God, 1560.]

[⁴ Unto, 1550; into, 1560.]

Christ's answers. The devil with three propositions would inveigle Christ in all heresies; but Christ confuteth him with three scriptures. And, that thou shouldest not think that Christ is the Holy Ghost, touching his incarnation he is said to be conceived of the Holy Ghost; and in his baptizing the holy Comforter descendeth upon him; and when he is tempted, the spirit leadeth him into the wilderness. Wherefore he is unconfounded with the Holy Ghost.

Christ also suffereth death, to deliver us from the tyranny of death; not the Father, nor the Holy Ghost; for he offered his flesh, an odoriferous and sweet-smelling sacrifice to the Father. The cause why he humbled himself unto death, is, forasmuch as our first parents lost God's favour through pride; for it was said unto them, "Taste, Why he suffered death. Gen. iii. and ye shall be as gods." For this cause it pleaseth Christ to overcome the devil by humility, who through pride enticed us from God. And we also must overcome by humility, recover God's favour by humility, enter into the kingdom of heaven through humility. Down therefore, proud stomach; down, peacock's feathers; down, high mountain, and become a low valley. The Lord will break down the house of the proud, and he that humbleth himself shall be exalted; as Prov. xv. Luke xiv. Luke xviii. we may learn of the publican and the Pharisee. We must return to paradise by humility, which we lost by pride. Humility is the porter of heaven gates. *Factus est obediens usque ad mortem crucis*, "He became obedient to the death Philip. ii. Why he died on the cross. of the cross." But why is Christ crucified for our sins? Why did he choose this kind of death before other? Truly, because this kind of death is accursed, and all that die of it, as it is written: "Cursed is every one that hangeth on tree." For so it cometh to pass that Christ was accursed for us; to deliver us from God's curse, as Paul saith: "Christ hath Gal. iii. Acts i. delivered us from the curse of the law, in that he was made accursed for us." Only he rose from death to life; only he ascended into heaven in the sight of his disciples; not the Father, nor the Holy Ghost.

Some searching wits demand, whether Christ could not deliver us, but by assuming our nature, by suffering most cruel torments. He could, but he would not. He took our nature, because he came to deliver our nature. That neither Why he took our nature. kind should think they are despised, he became man, and was

To deliver
us.
For ex-
ample.

To heal us.

John xv.

Wisd. viii.

born of a woman; that the serpent, which seduced both man and woman, might be overcome through both. Moreover he came, not only to deliver us, but also to be an example of good living. We be desirous of riches, he preferred poverty; we hunt for promotion, he would not be a king; we are careful to make heirs, to leave many children after us, he despised such fashion; we disdain to suffer wrong, he suffered all wrong; we cannot abide to be reviled, he held his tongue; we hate our enemies, we are unpainful in doing our duties, he was scourged and whipped of his own will for us; we be sore afraid of death, he died for us. He was sent also to heal our infirmities by well-doing, which came through sin. How can our covetousness be healed, but by his poverty? How can our furiousness be cured, but by his patience? How can our unkindness be recompensed, but by his love? How can our timorousness be boldened, but by his resurrection? Further, how could he more set forth his exceeding love toward us, than in dying for us? "A greater love than this hath no man, than to bestow his life," saith Christ, speaking of his own death. The Deity suffereth no infirmity, which is impossible. Wherefore it was necessary that he should take our nature upon him, who came to heal our infirmities, and to teach us to cure them through well-doing. If he had taken them in any other nature, then we might think that he despised our nature, that he loved us not, that the example of his life belongeth nothing unto us. For if he had been tempted in another nature, or died, how could we learn to withstand the devil, to overcome temptations, to despise death, of him? Wherefore, there was no way like this to redeem man. He is wisdom; wherefore he took the most wisest way.

THE TWENTY-SIXTH CHAPTER.

The Holy Comforter is unconfounded : how, and why, he descended in the likeness of a dove, rather than of any other bird.

Now that I have proved Christ to be unconfounded, mine order requireth to fortify the same thing of the most glorious and holy Comforter: the which is done partly already; for in that we have proved that Christ is not the Holy Ghost, the blessed and almighty Comforter is unconfounded with him. He is unconfounded also with the Father, in that he proceedeth of the Father, in that he leadeth Christ into the wilderness, in that he is sent of the Father; as Christ saith, "When the Comforter shall come, whom the Father shall send in my name;" and in that he is sent of Christ also, as it is written, "When the Comforter shall come, whom I will send in my Father's name." For Christ sendeth him; the Father sendeth both him and the almighty Comforter: but he himself is unsent. That he sent Christ, the apostle testifieth: "When the time was full come, God sent his Son, born of a woman, and made bond to the law;" the which must be understand of the Father, because he saith, "God sent his Son." Wherefore Christ himself saith: "I went out from the Father, and came into the world." His sending, and his coming, is his incarnation; as I have proved before. So the almighty Comforter is said to be sent, because he appeared in visible forms; as in the likeness of a dove, and of fire: not that he became a dove and fire, as Christ became very man; but that it pleased him to work his graces and benefits by a dove and fire; that our hearts might believe his presence, and know his power, through those outward and sensible apparitions. He became not a dove, as Christ became man; forasmuch as he came not to deliver doves, as Christ came to deliver man. God the Father, because he never shewed himself¹ in any visible shape, ne yet took any nature upon him, therefore he is said to be unsent. "The Lord," saith Moses, "spake

John xiv.

Matt. iv.

Gal. iv.

John xvi.

Why the Holy Ghost appeared.

Deut. iv.

[¹ Shewed himself, 1550; came to shew himself, 1560.]

unto you out of the fire in Horeb; and you heard his voice, but ye saw no image." Wherefore he is neither the Son, nor the Holy Ghost; which both were sent, and both appeared in many visible forms. For we read, I say, of the Holy Ghost, that he appeared *sicut columba*, "in the likeness of a dove."

Matt. iii.

Why doth he appear in the likeness of a dove? This notable apparition was done for many causes. One is, that we should believe the Holy Ghost to be a worker in baptism, to wash us, to purify us, to regenerate us, to make us God's children and heirs of salvation: and therefore the disciples are commanded to christen in his name, as in the name of the Father and the Son; for all be notified here in Christ's baptizing, *Pater in voce, Filius in homine, Spiritus Sanctus in columba*, "The Father is notified in the voice which soundeth, the Son in man's nature, the almighty Comforter in the dove." For as all three be present here, so they do work inseparably in every man's christening. The next cause is, forasmuch as a dove of all creatures is most innocent, and noyeth no beast, not the little worm; most chaste, for they never break wedlock once begun, but keep it undefiled to the end of their lives, (for if so be the male or female, through unchaste love, haunt the company of any other, then they flock and gather together, and rend the advouterer and advoutress in pieces;) void of anger, for they have no gall; lovers of amity and friendship.

Matt. xxviii.

And this apparition was shadowed and figured by the dove, which Noe sent out of the ark in the time of the general flood. For as that dove returned in the eventide with a leaf of an olive tree in her mouth, signifying peace; so the Holy Ghost giveth peace, causeth all friendship, engendereth all love. And why? Verily, as he is an ineffable communion of the Father and the Son; as he joineth and knitteth them together, with a fast, sure, and unlooseable knot; so he glueth and coupleth our hearts; upon which consideration he properly is called charity, or love. As the dove also mourneth in his love, so the Holy Ghost maketh us to bewail our sins and lament our misdeeds; as it is written, "The Spirit helpeth our infirmities; for we know not what to desire as we ought; but the Spirit maketh intercession mightily for us with groanings which cannot be expressed." The Holy

Gen. viii.

Rom. viii.

Ghost doth not groan; but is said to groan, as we call a merry day which maketh us merry, and a sad day which causeth sadness; and as cold is called *pigrum*, because it maketh us slow. But, "blessed be they that mourn," like Matt. v. the dove, and in the love of God, "for they shall be comforted." Such as groan for poverty, and are dismayed, discouraged, and mated, through imprisonment or any kind of persecution, be ravens, not doves; be weathercocks and worldlings. For the raven returned not again to the ark, which is the church. The dove maketh his nest in some hollow and high rock; so let us set our minds and desires upon the rock, which is Christ. The dove cherisheth the young of other as well as her own; the which is a lesson unto us to love our neighbours. The dove also will not eat of all manner of grain, but chooseth out the most fine and pure; teaching such as hunger and long for the truth, to feed of God's word, and to beware they fall not upon every carrion. The dove with all diligence and kindness cherisheth his mate, when she hath young ones. Wherefore the all-knowing Comforter appeareth like a dove who commandeth his to be doves: that is to say, chaste, patient, kind, mourners for their sins, faithful and diligent to their wives, earnest believers in the rock, readers of God's word, and lovers of all men. This is the innocency which Christ, inspired with the dove, commandeth, saying: "Be ye wise as Matt. x. serpents, and innocent like doves."

The almighty and all-knowing Comforter is unfounded also with the Father, in that Christ was conceived of him, not of the Father; of whom Esay prophesieth, "There shall come a rod forth of the root of Jesse, and a Isai. xi. blossom or flower shall rise out of the root." The root of Jesse is the kindred of the Jews, the rod is the blessed virgin Mary, the blossom or flower of Mary is Christ; as he witnesseth of himself, *Ego flos campi, et liliū conval-* Cant. ii. *lium*, &c. "I am the flower of the field, the lily of the valleys, and the rose among thorns." The rose, plucked and taken out of the garden, loseth not his smell; and stilled with the fire, smelleth sweeter than ever it did, pouring forth an odoriferous water no less wholesome for many things than pleasant. Even so Christ, being taken out of the garden of this world, flourished more than all

How Christ
is a flower,
or a rose.

John xii.

Num. xi.

Rom. viii.

Gen. i.

Acts viii.

Acts x.

John xx.

Psal. xix.

the flowers therein; grew in a further authority than all the holy patriarchs and prophets; cast an odoriferous savour over all the world, which drew all men to him; and, being digged in the side with a spear of the cruel Jews, which are the thorns, poured forth a water healing all infirmities. This blossom or flower was conceived of the holy Comforter, not of the Father. Moreover the almighty Comforter is the gift of God; for the Lord saith unto Moses, "I will take the Spirit which is upon thee, and give it them:" and Christ also; as it is written: "Who spared not his own Son, but gave him for us all, how shall he not with him give us all things?" Wherefore the Father, Christ, and the Holy Ghost, be distinct and sundry persons.

The Comforter is unconfounded also, in that he was borne upon the waters, in that he commandeth Philip the evangelist to join himself to the chariot of the eunuch¹; in that he commandeth Peter to arise and go with Cornelius' servants; in that he commandeth to separate Paul and Barnabas; in that he is the finger of God; in that Christ, breathing on his disciples, gave him, saying, "Receive the Holy Ghost." He also descendeth upon the disciples in likeness of fire, teaching them to speak all languages, because the gospel should be preached to all nations. And David recordeth: "There is neither speech ne language, but their voices are heard among them. Their sound is gone out into all lands, and their words to the end of the world." The Roman dominion hath reached far, but the preaching of the sweet tidings of the gospel shall go further. For those nations which the sharpness of sword could not overcome, shall be vanquished by him that fighteth not with sword, but with wood and word. Christ gave not the Father by breathing; he descended not in the likeness of a dove or fire; he commandeth not Peter to go with Cornelius' servants; he was not borne upon the waters; he is not his own finger; wherefore he is not the Holy Ghost.

But albeit neither Christ nor the almighty Comforter be confounded with the Father, yet they are of one and the selfsame substance with him. For the scriptures teach Christ to be the hand of God, and the Holy Ghost to be his

[¹ This word is substituted for a synonymous expression, as in a former instance, p. 136.]

finger. The body, the hand, and finger are one substance; and yet the finger is not the hand, nor the hand the body, nor the finger the body. If therefore the scripture do grant to Christ, to the Holy Ghost, to the Father, the meaning of the word 'person;' that is to say, that the Father is a substance, Christ is a substance, the Holy Ghost is a substance; and that the Father is unconfounded, Christ unconfounded, the Holy Ghost unconfounded, as I have proved; it must needs follow that they be three persons; for a person is an unconfounded substance. This is the catholic faith; the confession of martyrs; the doctrine of the prophets, apostles and evangelists.

THE TWENTY-SEVENTH CHAPTER.

Corporal similitudes of God made in the scriptures: why he is named light, fire, the sun, &c.: the image of God in man's soul.

Now, gentle reader, seeing I have declared what a person is, out of the book of holy scriptures; and also proved, with infinite authorities, that there be three persons, that is, three unconfounded and distinct in property; I will disclose the divine and blessed nature of the almighty Trinity by corporal and earthly similitudes; that thou mayest behold, as it were in a glass and with a pair of spectacles, those things which exceed and surmount the capacities of all creatures. "The invisible things of God," Rom. i. saith Paul, "that is, the eternal power and godhead, are understand, seen, and learned of his works, from the creation of the world." As long as we continue in this tabernacle and mortality, we shall never have perfect understanding of the eternal God; forasmuch as the hearts of all men and women be unclean. "Blessed be the clean-hearted," Matt. v. saith Christ, "for they shall see God." Our life is a warfare, a night, and a purifying of our hearts from sin and igno-

- 2 Cor. v. rance through charity and faith. "We walk in faith," saith the apostle, "and see not." With this only ladder we ascend to the intelligence of the secrets of God. Things supernatural cannot be perceived with natural light. Cherubin and seraphin, and all the blessed company of angels, are ignorant of the majesty of God; for they know not the day of Christ's glorious return: and yet they have more plentiful knowledge than we; forasmuch as they be pure minds, and were never neither blinded through sin, ne hindered through any earthly mansion and corruptible body.
- Matt. xxiv. *Scrutator majestatis opprimetur a gloria*: "Whosoever is an ensearcher of God's majesty is oppressed of the glory." No man is able fully and perfectly to know the nature of a gnat, or a little spider. Be not displeased then, if I shew thee the Trinity in his visible creatures, as it were in a glass; but glorify God and be not unthankful to him, which hath opened himself in them to thy capacity, feeding thee with milk because thou art not able to digest strong meats. And because no man shall be offended with this manner of teaching, I will make no similitudes of the Trinity but out of the plentiful storehouses of the scriptures.
- Prov. xxv. The best and most lively glass that ever I beheld the

Abraham's
vision.
Gen. xviii.

Trinity in, is the vision which appeared to Abraham in the oak-grove of Mamre. For as there three wayfaring men shew themselves unto Abraham, so God is three persons: and as these three men are called one Lord, not Lords, so the three persons are one God, one Lord, one substance. And as Christ and the almighty Comforter are sent of the Father, so here one sendeth twain unto Sodom and Gomorre; and as the Father is unsent, so he is not sent, but sendeth. And as the twain which are sent to destroy Sodom are called one Lord of Lot, so the faithful congregation confess and believe Christ and the all-knowing Comforter to be one God. I touched this similitude before; and because it is so notable, I thought it not unworthy to be rehearsed again.

Gen. xix.

There be many similitudes declaring certain properties of the Trinity, and some agreeable in one point and some in another; but none doth so paint and pourtray it before our eyes, as this vision doth. We may find an image of the Trinity in the sun; for God is called by the name of

the sun in the book of Wisdom: *Sol justitiæ et intelligentiæ* Wisd. v.
non est ortus nobis, "The sun of righteousness and under-
standing arose not upon us." There is but one sun only, How God is
named the
sun of un-
derstand-
ing.
not many; so there is but one God. The sun shineth
upon both good and evil men; so the liberality of Almighty
God maintaineth both. The moon and all the stars have
not their light of themselves, but of the sun; so the con-
gregation and godly men, which are called by the name
of the moon and stars in the scriptures, have no light,
no crumb of virtue, no goodness of themselves, but by
participation of the divine nature. They which gaze upon
the sun are blinded with his clear light; so all searchers
of God's glory beyond the scriptures are overwhelmed with
the majesty thereof. The presence of the sun cheereth all
things; when he is absent, night cometh and darkness;
and nothing would grow if he did not rise on them: so
when God hideth his face, they are sorrowful, and die; Psal. civ.
when he looketh on them, they wax young and lusty like
an eagle. And as Democritus and other philosophers hold Democritus.
[Cicero De
Finibus, i.
vi.]
opinion that the sun is infinite, so all things be infinite
in God. He is of an infinite arm, of infinite majesty, of
infinite wisdom. As the sun is the fountain out of which
cometh both the light and the heat; so is the Father the
fountain, out of which issueth the Son and Holy Ghost.
And as neither the light nor the heat doth send the sun,
but the sun send them; so the Father is sent neither of
Christ nor of the Holy Ghost, but he sendeth them. And
as of the sun and of the beams, both together, cometh the
heat or warmth; so from the Father and the Son, both
together, proceedeth the all-knowing Comforter. But as
the sun-light, by division, is in many places, so the blessed
Trinity filleth all places without division; neither contained
in place, neither moved in time. Now, if the sun were
without beginning and ending, eternal beams would come
out of him, and everlasting heat would proceed out of the
sun and his beams. Wherefore inasmuch as God the Father
is immortal, Christ his Son also must needs be immortal,
forasmuch as the Father is likened to the sun, and Christ
to the clear and bright beams; for he is "the brightness Wisd. vii.
of the everlasting light."

I would know of the Paulians and Arians, whether the

Father in time began to be a Father, or was a Father evermore without time. If they grant that he was a Father ever, the which they cannot deny, then it must needs follow that the Son was evermore. For he was not a Father before he had a Son, but he was called a Father of the Son; and he that is always a Father, hath evermore and always a Son. If Christ was not evermore, then time was before him; and then the apostle lieth, calling him *Primo-genitum omnis creaturæ*, "first begotten of all creatures;" for time is a creature and was before him. But time was made by Christ; for "all things were made by him," as the beloved disciple witnesseth. If he were the maker of time, then he was before all time; and that which was before all time is not moved in time, but is without time, without beginning, and immortal. Wherefore Christ is immortal, and then he is God; for only God is immortal after this sort. Likewise the all-knowing Comforter was evermore, who is compared to the heat; for an everlasting heat must needs proceed out of an everlasting sun and everlasting beams. He is *digitus Dei*, "the finger of God." Luke xi.¹ "If I cast out devils in the finger of God," &c. For Matt. xii. where Luke saith, "In the finger of God," it is in Matthew, "I cast out devils in the Spirit of God." Then either we must confess him to be without beginning, and of the substance of God; or else grant that God once lacked a finger, and deny the same to be of the substance of the body. Jer. xxxii. Like reason may be made of Christ, who is the hand and the arm of God; for God was never without his finger, hand, ne arm; and then all three be of the same nature with the body. And forsomuch as God's finger is almighty, and his hand and arm likewise, both Christ is almighty, and the blessed Comforter also; and Christ is God by nature, and the holy Comforter also. For nothing is almighty and of the nature of God, but God only.

But the Arians reply, that the Father is elder than the Son, and that he which begetteth is before him that is begotten: *Ego hodie genui te*; "This day begat I thee." This is true in fathers upon earth, but not in an everlasting Father, who must needs have an everlasting Son. Neither

An objection answered.

[This reference is introduced into the text as well as inserted in the margin of the edition of 1550.]

doth this reason hold in all earthly things: for fire gendereth light, and heat proceedeth from it; and yet the fire gendering, and light gendered, and heat proceeding, be *cœva*, not one before the other. Therefore it is against reason, that the Father begetting, and Christ begotten, and the Holy Ghost proceeding, should be co-eterne, co-immortal, and not one before the other in time, but each one of them before all time.

And well may the Trinity be likened to fire, and his heat, and light; for God in the scripture is called fire: *Dominus Deus tuus ignis consumens est*; "The Lord thy God," saith Moses, "is a consuming fire." And John calleth him also 'light,' saying, *Deus lux est*; "God is light, and in him is no darkness at all." And Christ witnesseth of himself that he is light, saying, "I am the light of the world;" who is *lumen de lumine*, "light of light." For as the fire ministereth light to a multitude, and yet is not minished or consumed thereby, so God bestoweth innumerable benefits upon us, and yet his liberality is not hindered therewith. Likewise also in a candle, of which many other candles be light, the light is not thereby in any wise diminished or hurt at all. One supper doth not refresh, or suffice, many as well as few; but the voice of one preacher teacheth as well a hundred as one. The sound of one bell is never the less when it is heard of many. Even so he who preserved the small portion of meal and oil for the widow and her son, that was not diminished, who with a very few loaves and a certain fishes refreshed a great multitude, so that those things were not diminished but increased, knoweth how to employ his benefits without any loss or detriment to his liberality. Moreover, as fire sendeth forth both heat and light, but neither heat ne light sendeth fire; so the Father sendeth both Christ and the all-knowing Comforter, and he is unsent. And as both the light and the heat are of the fire, so Christ and the Holy Ghost both are of the Father, the one begotten, the other proceeding; and the Father only is of himself, and of no other. And as fire is not before heat and light, no more is the Father before the Son and the Holy Ghost. But in that place which I rehearsed out of Deuteronomy, God is called fire, because he melteth the sins of those that will

How God
is fire and
light.
Deut. iv.
1 John i.

John viii.

1 Kings xvii.

Matt. xiv.
Mark vi.
Luke ix.

Deut. iv.

1 John i.

amend, as the fire melteth wax, and punisheth the sins of disobedient persons with unquenchable fire: and John calleth him light for the same cause; for light putteth away darkness, and is contrary to it. For these properties, and divers other, the scriptures call God the sun of righteousness, fire, and light.

Gen. i.

A glass to
see God in.

If we ponder them diligently, we shall find also the image of the blessed Trinity in ourselves, in our own natures. For it is written: "God made man after his image, after the image of God formed he him." This image is in our souls, not in our bodies: as I have proved in my confutation of the Anthropomorphites, or humaniformians. Man's soul is a lively image of God. The soul is a spirit; Almighty God is a spirit: the soul quickeneth and ruleth the body; the Trinity governeth the marvellous frame of this world. Reason, will, and memory, are three, but one and the same soul. So the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost, are three, distinct in property, and one God. Whatsoever thing the soul doth, these three be the workers thereof. Reason cannot discern good and evil, truth, falsehood, plainness and craft, proof and sophistication, without either will or memory. Neither will chooseth what him liketh, without the other; nor memory remembereth not things gone, without reason and will. These actions and works, which are said properly to belong only to memory, and only to reason and will, in very deed are done by the workmanship of all three. So the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost, work all things inseparably; not that each of them is unable to work by himself, but that they all three are one God, one spirit, one nature; as reason, will, memory, are one soul. The Son worketh always with the Father; for "whatsoever the Father doth, that doth the Son also:" and Christ recordeth, that as his Father worketh hitherto, so he worketh. The almighty Comforter cannot be absent from their works; for he is the Spirit of them both, and filleth the round compass of the world.

The works
of the three
persons be
inseparable.

John v.

Wisd. i.

If I would gather all the works of each person into an induction, I could manifestly prove this to the capacity of all men; but it is too long to speak of all' their works. I will speak of the creation of the world, of Christ's incar-

[Of all their, 1550; of their, 1560.]

nation, of his miracles and resurrection; proving all these to have been done by the workmanship of the three persons. For if the Trinity did work inseparably in these, no doubt it hath done likewise in all other.

First, touching the creation of the world, no man distrusteth the Father's working, of whom that is supposed to be spoken, "In the beginning God created heaven and earth." If thou doubt of Christ and the holy Comforter, hearken what the prophet David saith: "By the word of the Lord were the heavens made, and by the word of his mouth the glorious fairness of them." Wherefore heaven and earth be the workmanship of the three persons.

Was Christ conceived in the womb of Mary by the workmanship of the holy Comforter, and is he not Maker of the world? If the three persons work evermore without separation, why doth the scripture grant certain works to one person, and certain to another? Truly, to teach us that there be three persons; that there be three distinct, three unconfounded. Only the person of the Father soundeth the voice in Christ's baptism; only the Holy Ghost appeareth like a dove; and only Christ is incarnate. Notwithstanding, both the flesh of Christ, and the voice of the Father, and the apparition of the all-knowing Comforter, be the workmanship of the whole Trinity. I mean not that Christ and the Holy Ghost sounded the voice, but that they were workers of the voice; the Father only sounded it, not Christ, not the Holy Ghost. For they be distinct and unconfounded. They be three, not all one; three persons, not three names. So the Holy Ghost only shewed himself in the shape of a dove; not the Father, not Christ. Nevertheless the dove in which he appeared, was the workmanship of all three. So neither the Father, ne yet the blessed Comforter, were incarnate, but Christ only. Nevertheless the flesh and nature of Christ was the workmanship of the whole Trinity, whose works be inseparable. This may be gathered of the words of the angel to Mary: *Spiritus sanctus superveniet in te, et virtus Altissimi obumbrabit tibi*, "The Holy Ghost," saith Gabriel, "shall come upon thee, and the power of the Highest shall overshadow thee." By the Highest, the Father is to be understand: by these words, *virtus Altissimi*, "the virtue

An objection
answered.

Luke i.

or power of the Highest," the Son. For so Paul¹ calleth him to the Corinthians, saying: "We preach Christ crucified; unto the Jews an occasion of falling, to the Greeks foolishness; but unto them which are called, both of the Jews and Greeks, we preach Christ, the power and wisdom of God." The word *virtus* is translated in English, 'virtue,' or 'power.' The Greek word is *Dunamis*, both in Paul and in the answer of the angel. Peradventure some man will deny that the Father is meant by the word *Altissimus*. Therefore I will fortify his operation with another reason. Christ's incarnation is his sending; as I have proved before. For who is sent thither where he is already? But he is every where, touching his divinity. Wherefore he is sent thither where he was not, by appearing in his humanity. And it is plain that the Father sent him. Wherefore the incarnation of Christ is the workmanship of the holy, glorious Trinity.

The scripture telleth, that our Saviour Christ also by his word and commandment did cast out many devils. But the same witnesseth, that the Father and the Holy Ghost did work with him; lest thou shouldst think the works of the Trinity to be separable. For of his Father John xiv. he himself saith: "The Father that dwelleth in me, is he which doth the works." And of the all-doing Comforter Matt. xii. also: "I cast out devils in the Spirit² of God." Like proof may be brought of all his other miracles.

So only Christ arose from death to life; and yet the holy Trinity raised him. For of the Father it is written, 1 Pet. i. "Who raised Christ from death:" and of himself he testi- John ii. fieth, saying to the Jews asking a token, "Destroy this temple, and in three days I shall raise it up again:" and Rom. viii. that the Holy Ghost raised him, Paul is record and witness, saying, "Wherefore, if the Spirit of him which raised up John vi. Jesu from death dwell in you;" and John also, "the Spirit quickeneth." For it is not to be taken only of the quickening of our souls, but of our bodies also: neither is it unlike, that the holy Comforter did raise him whom he formed in the virgin's womb. Like proof might be made of all the

[¹ Paul, 1550; St Paul, 1560.]

[² Spirit, 1550; scripture, 1560.]

peculiar works of the all-working Comforter and of the Father. Wherefore their works be no more separable than the works of reason, will, and memory: namely, seeing they be one God, as the other three be one soul.

THE TWENTY-EIGHTH CHAPTER.

How there is but one God only: the divinity of Christ, and the all-doing Comforter, notwithstanding this unity.

Now I have almost declared all the contents of this treatise: that is, what God is; what a³ person signifieth; and that there be three persons in the glorious Trinity. For the proof of my last matter and content, I will first teach with evident scriptures, that there is but one only God, and then with reasons, not of philosophy, but gathered out of them; for "the scripture is profitable to teach, to control, and to instruct." Then I will prove, that the same scripture granteth all and every one of the parts of the definition made of God to our Saviour Christ: and that done, I will fortify also, that all the parts of the same definition are granted to the all-knowing and almighty Comforter. The christian congregation believeth the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost to be one God; not by nuncupation only, but by unity of nature. For if the multitude of them that believed were *cor unum et anima una*, "one heart and one soul;" if "he which is joined unto the Lord is one spirit;" if man and wife be "one flesh," one body, as the apostle witnesseth; if all men be one substance, touching their nature; if the scriptures testify that in human things many be one; how much more are the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost one God, which differ not in nature and substance! For it is written, "There are three which bear record in heaven; the Father,

² Tim. iii.

Acts iv.

1 Cor. vi.

1 John v.

[³ What a person, 1550; what person, 1560.]

the Word, and the Holy Ghost; and these three are one." The unity of their nature proveth them not to be three gods, but one God.

Arians' interpretation confuted.

1 Cor. iii.

The damnable sect of the Arians expoundeth this text, *hi tres unum sunt*, "these three are one," that they be one in will, in assent, and consent, and not in their substance, nature, and divinity. To which I make answer, that in all the scripture they cannot find *unum sunt* spoken of things which differ in substance and nature. Wherefore, spoken of the three persons, they prove them to have no diversity in their nature. And if that be true, they must grant of necessity that they be one God by nature. St Paul saith, that "he that planteth, and he that watereth, *unum sunt*, are one." Are they of diverse substance and nature? No, verily; for both of them were men. He speaketh these words of himself and of Apollo (for the congregation rejoiced in them); forbidding the Corinthians to rejoice in men, and teaching them to rejoice in God only. Wherefore these words, *unum sunt*, in this place are not spoken of things which differ in substance. Let us ponder other texts. The same Paul unto the Galatians saith: "All you *unum estis in Christo Jesu*, are one in Christ Jesu." He speaketh this of the Galatians, which all were of one nature, of one lump and substance. For they all were men, of men. Here thou seest also, reader, that these words, *unum sunt*, are not spoken of things which differ in substance.

Gal. iii.

1 Cor. vi.

An objection answered.

But the Arians reply, that the apostle witnesseth, that "he which is joined unto the Lord is one spirit;" and yet he is not of the same substance that the body is. The Latin there is not *unum sunt*, "are one," of which I do speak, but *qui adhæret Domino unus spiritus est*, "he that is joined to the Lord is *unus spiritus*, one spirit." For *unus*, joined with another word, as with *spiritus*, may be spoken of things which are of discrepant nature, as it is here: but *unum sunt* is never so spoken. Search all the bible throughout, and thou shalt find this to be true. I grant that the words *unum sunt* be spoken often of assent in will; but only in those things which differ not in nature and substance. And truly the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost, *unum sunt voluntate*, are one in will and assent; but also of one substance, nature, and divinity; forasmuch as

unum sunt, "are one," is never spoken of things which differ in substance.

The Arians reply further, that Christ prayed for his elect, *ut sint unum*, "that they may become one, as he and his Father were one." He doth not pray that they, and he, and the Father may be one; but that they be one, as he and his Father be one, both in nature and will; as it followeth in the same text, *Ut omnes unum sint, sicut tu Pater in me, et ego in te, [ut] et ipsi in nobis unum sint*, "That they all may be one, as thou, Father, art in me, and I in thee, that they also may be one in us." For mortal men cannot be of the same substance that God is. They may be one in God, but not with God. They may be one, as the Father and Christ be, but not of their nature: that is, as the three persons of the glorious Trinity are one in will and assent, and substance also, so the chosen after this life, as they are now of one substance, so shall they be then also; not with God, but in God; of one assent, consent, and will, and not squaring one with another, for they "shall be all one in Jesus Christ," Col. iii. and "Christ shall be all things in all," and God shall be all things in all: which proveth Christ God. *Unum sunt* is spoken here of the elect, which differ not in substance, for they be men. Therefore the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost, are of one substance and divinity. John xvii. 1 Cor. xv.

Another
objection
answered.

And if they be of one substance and divinity, they are not three gods, but one God; as it is written, "Hearken, Israel, the Lord thy God is one God." He saith unto Israel by Moses, "Where are their gods wherein they trusted, the fat of whose sacrifices they eat, and drank the wine of their vessels? Let them arise up and help you, and be your shield. See now how I am alone, and that there is no God but I. I can kill, and make alive; and what I have smitten, that can I heal. I will lift up my hand to heaven, and say, I live ever." If there be many gods, their kingdom is divided: but the kingdom of God is everlasting; wherefore it is not divided, for every kingdom divided shall be destroyed. The Hebrew word for God is *Elohim*, which is not of the singular number, but of the plural; for there be three persons: but it is alway joined with a verb singular, lest that we should think there were many gods. Moses useth this word for the Deut. vi. Deut. xxxii. Matt. xii. Elohim.

[¹ Is, as the 1550; is, the, 1560.]

English, which is 'God,' when he saith, "In the beginning God created heaven and earth:" wherefore we may learn, that the world is the workmanship of the holy Trinity. This word is used commonly for God, to signify, that whatsoever is done is the work of the three persons; for as they be not separable, so they work inseparably.

The heathen
opinion con-
futed.

The heathen supposed there were many gods, because it seemed to them impossible for one to rule and govern all things: yet they divided the governance thereof between three; giving heaven and earth to Jupiter, the seas to Neptune, the low parts and hell to Pluto. But the scriptures, which is truth and cannot lie, testifieth that the three persons, without division, without labour or pain, without time, govern all things; for their works be inseparable. If so be there be many gods, then is there somewhat wherein one of them doth differ from another. Now, if that be any good thing, he is no God that lacketh or wanteth any thing that good is. For as he that nameth a king doth in this one word comprehend many excellent things, so he that nameth God doth comprehend in this word an infinite sum of all good things.

Luke xviii.

We read of a certain ruler which called Christ "Good master," asking him, what he should do to get and achieve eternal life: whom Christ rebuked, saying, "Why callest thou me good? none is good but God only." If God only be good, then all goodness is in him: as I have proved in my first matter. He is life, is truth, he is light, he is strength, he is health, he is *θησαυρὸς ἀγαθῶν*, that is, "a treasure and heap of all goodness." And if that thing wherein they differ be an evil thing, that cannot be God that hath any evil thing in him: for he willett no wickedness. The heathen, which worship many gods, did and do think no evil to come by them, by the light which they had of nature; and judged them to revenge and punish all that they took to be sin. Now, if God be a righteous punisher of vice, he must be void of the same. Wherefore natural reason teacheth, that there is but one God. Doth not the noble and worthy philosopher, Aristotle, teach us this, proving that there is but *unum primum mobile*, 'one first mover,' who moveth all the heavenly spheres?

Aristotle.

Against the
Manicheans.

The Manichees make two gods, which they call *duo principia contraria*, 'two principles one contrary to another.'

For they say, that one is an evil God, maker of visible things; the other a good God, maker of invisible things. And they say also, that both of them be unbegotten, uncreate, and of themselves. Then are they immortal. But if they be immortal, there is no God that "only hath immortality," and Paul lieth, who saith that God, not gods, hath immor- ^{1 Tim. vi.} tality. And all the prophets, evangelists, and apostles be liars; teaching with one assent, that God only forgiveth sin, that God only knoweth all things. For if there be two gods, both of them must have these properties. If either of them know not all things, then is he ignorant, and then no God. If both know all things, then is there no God which only knoweth all things. Both also must forgive sin; the good, because he is merciful; the evil, because he is the cause of all sin: and then is there no God which only pardoneth sin. Moreover, if both the Manichees' gods be immortal, if both pardon sin, if both know all science, they be not contrary: for knowledge is not contrary to knowledge, but ignorance; and unmercifulness is contrary to mercy and forgiving; and death to immortality. Wherefore there be not two contrary principles, but one principle and one God. The christian congregation confesseth that the Father is *principium*, 'a principle', or 'beginning'; for so the beloved disciple calleth him, saying, *In principio erat Verbum*, "In ^{John i.} the beginning was the Word," in the Father was Christ. They acknowledge Christ also to be *principium*; who answereth the cruel Jews demanding who he was, saying, "The beginning which spake unto you." But the Father ^{John viii.} is *principium non de principio*; Christ is *principium de principio*. They confess the almighty Comforter also to be *principium*, forasmuch as he, with the Father and the Son, made all things, and governeth them; as I have proved before. Notwithstanding there be not three beginnings, but one beginning only; as there be not three gods, but one God.

The papists also bring in many gods, but covertly and privily. They teach the people to pray unto saints: to St Luke for the ox, to Job for the pox, to Rooke for the pestilence¹, to Sith for things lost, to Christopher for con-

[¹ The Golden Legend abounds with confirmations of this passage. It informs us, that after the decease of Saint Rooke, a "table dyvynely wryten with lettres of golde," was found under his head, which table was

Against
praying to
saints.

The first
reason.

tinual health, to the queen of heaven for women with child, to Clement for good beer: yea, they entice the people also to worship and honour their images. If they be to be prayed unto for these things, they be gods; for in praying unto them, we acknowledge them to hear us, to be almighty, to be every where, to know the thoughts of all men, to be a strong castle unto such as fly unto them: but these things belong only to God, as I have proved before. Wherefore they make them gods.

The
second.¹

Isai. l. and
lix.

Psal. xciv.

John xiv.

John x.

O crafty devil! O subtle papists! The Jews are reproved, by the voice of the prophets, for making many gods, in that they prayed unto Baal, Astaroth, Moloch, and the queen of heaven, for aid and succour. Why do we not ask all good things of him which is the author and giver of all good things both to his enemies and friends, both to the heathen and to the congregation? Is his hand smitten off, that it cannot help? Have we perceived at any time cruelty or unkindness in him? Are his ears stopped, that he cannot hear? or his eyes so dim that they cannot see? He planted the ear, he made the eye; wherefore he both heareth most easily and seeth most perfectly. And because he is the fountain of all mercy, he granteth our requests most mercifully. He is not like an earthly king, who setteth porters at his gates. He is not hard to speak with, for he is the gate himself; as he telleth us, *Ego sum via, veritas, et vita*, "I am the way, the truth, and life;" and, *Ego sum ostium*, "I am the door." There is but one way, one

placed there by an angel, and contained an inscription, which purported "that God had graunted to him (St Rocke) his prayer, that is to wyte, that who that calleth to saynte Rocke mekely, he shall not be hurte with ony hurte of pestylence:" (Golden Legend, fol. ccxv. edit. Lond. 1527.) and also, that St Christopher obtained from God "by prayer to put away sekeness and sores for them that remembre his passyon and figure." (ibid. fol. clxxviii.) According to the following passage, the merits of St Clement were considered to avail for other purposes than the one mentioned by Hutchinson: "Let us devoutly praye unto this blyssed saynt, saynt Clement, that by his merytes we may deserve to come to the blysse of heaven." (Ibid. fol. cccxxxii. b.) "Sith" means St Osyth, to whom the patronage of 'things lost' was assigned in consequence of an incident in her life related in Capgrave's *Nova Legenda Angliæ*, fol. ccxlv. b. edit. 1516.]

[¹ These words do not occur in the edition of 1550.]

door; and he that entereth in by the door findeth pasture. He that entereth in not by the door, he is a thief, a robber. And why? For he robbeth God of the glory belonging only to him, giving it to his creatures. They which fly unto saints depart³ make many ways, many doors, and many gods. If they are to be prayed unto, we must believe on them; for the apostle saith, *Quomodo invocabunt in quem non crediderunt*; "How shall they call on him, pray to him, on whom they believe not?" If we must believe on them, then let us be christened in their names. But holy baptism is commanded not to be ministered in their names; but *in nomine*, 'in one name', of the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost. Wherefore, as they are not to be believed upon, so are they not to be called upon; but God only, whose highness disdaineth the fellowship of any creature. Let us therefore pray unto him; for he is the well of water of life. Let us not dig vile and broken pits, which hold no water. Let us take heed of the streets of Egypt, and of the ways of Assyria. God is no wilderness to his people, nor land without light, but a merciful and a liberal God. Such as make flesh their arm, are accursed. Let us make Christ our arm, for he is the arm of God; "who in all things became like unto his brethren, that he might be a merciful and a faithful bishop in things concerning God, to purge the people's sins." God only knoweth our need, searcheth our thoughts and intents, granteth our desires, blesseth and crowneth us; and there be no mo³ Gods, no mo³ hearers, no mo³ judgers of thoughts, beside him. He saith by his prophet: "I am the first and the last, and beside me is there no God. Have not I the Lord done it, without whom there is none other God? The true God and Saviour, and there is else none but I. And therefore turn unto me, all ye ends of the earth, so shall ye be saved. For I am God and there is else none."

If there be many gods, the divine power, governance, and rule, is divided between them: and then it is not an everlasting power, but mortal; for whatsoever is divided is mortal. But natural reason denieth God to be corruptible, and his power to decay. Wherefore it protesteth, that there is but one God which ruleth all. Moreover, the divine power

[³ Depart, i. e. departed.]

[³ Mo, 1550; more, 1560.]

The third.

Rom. x.

Jer. ii.

Psal. lix.

Jer. xvii.

Heb. ii.

Isai. xlii.
Isai. xlv.

is a perfect power and a general authority; for God is almighty and general Governor. If there be many gods, each of them hath a certain portion to rule. But they which have but portions, are no gods; for the power of God is a perfect power, and a perfect power comprehendeth all power. If there be many gods, they have several dominions, and every one of them lacketh so much as the other gods have; and so the more gods they be in number, the less is their power and authority. As for ensample¹, the king is most mighty who hath all the world under him; for all things are his, the riches of all men belong unto him. If there be many kings, they are of less power. There is no such authority among them, no such power: for every one of them hath his dominion, his portion to rule, and presumeth not beyond his own bounds. Even so if there be many gods, they are of lesser² power. But reason giveth God a perfect and an absolute power. Wherefore there is but one God only; forasmuch as perfect power cannot be in many.

Also, if there be many, how do they know that they shall continue of one mind and will? If they do not, as it is like, for it is a common saying, *tot capita tot sensus*, 'as many minds as heads'; then this diversity will provoke them to battle; as we read in Homer, who bringeth in the gods fighting one with another; some of them taking part with the Trojans, some with the Greeks: for diversity in will causeth war. The heathen grant that God hath a general authority, and a perfect power; but they say, that he hath many gods of less power, which are called *minores dii*, to govern the world under him. But they lie: for they be no gods, because they be ministers under him; no more than the officers under the king, as chancellors, mayors, presidents, judges, shrives, bailies, and constables, are kings. God is not like a man; he worketh all things without hands, without any weariness or pain; neither doth time measure his works, with whom it is, *dixit et facta sunt*, "He spake the word and it was done." Wherefore he neither hath need to rule under him, neither can any such be gods. Whereof it must needs

[¹ Ensamble, 1550; example, 1560.]

[² Lesser, 1550; less, 1560.]

follow, that the world is governed by one God. No city is well ordered, but of one mayor; no host of men, but of one general captain. Wherefore the Greeks, sailing unto the famous city of Troy, chose Agamemnon to be king of kings, and willed all to be obedient unto him. If in one host there be so many chief captains as there be thousands; if every have his captain whom he must only obey, no order, no array can be kept: for every captain will be with his men where him listeth; and every one of them will refuse to endanger himself and his men, and will pass the jeopardy to him that is next. Even so, except by one God the whole world be governed, all things will decay and perish. If it be true, which is commonly said among men, *Omnis potestas impatiens est consortis*, that 'power receiveth no fellowship;' how much more is it true in that ineffable power which appertaineth to God, whose highness receiveth no fellowship of any other! What a king is to his realm, that God is in the world. One realm hath but one king³: so one world hath but one God. For this cause and other, the scriptures use to call him a king. No ship is well governed of many masters, no flock of many shepherds, no school of many schoolmasters, no city of many mayors, no host of many captains, no kingdom of many kings. All things stand and are preserved by an unity. And Virgil recordeth this thing, saying:

Principio cœlum, ac terras, camposque liquentes,
 Lucentemque globum lunæ, Titaniaque astra,
 Spiritus intus alit, totamque infusa per artus
 Mens agitat molem, et magno se corpore miscet.

[Æneid. vi.
 734—7.]

"First heaven, and earth, and clay-fields indeed,
 With moon and stars, the spirit within doth feed:
 The mind spread through the veins eke moves the mole,
 Mixing itself unto the body whole."

The poet Virgil beareth record that there is but one God. For one body hath but one mind, and God is the mind of the world. Wherefore, as there is but one world, so there is but one God. And that no man should misdeem this spirit and mind of which he speaketh, not to be God, he expoundeth these words in another place, saying:

[³ King omitted from the edition of 1560.]

[Georg. iv.
221, 222.]

Deum namque ire per omnes,
Terrasque, tractusque maris, cælumque profundum.

"God goeth through all, seen or unseen with eye;
Through earth, and sea, through heaven deep and high."

[Metam. i.
17—19.]

Ovid also, in his book called *Metamorphoses*, witnesseth, that one God formed all things of a confused heap. I do not call poets to witness, that I think any credit to be given to their words, but to shew that this thing is so manifest a truth, that they which were blind did see it.

Thales.
[Cicero De
Nat. Deor.
Lib. i. c. 10.]

But as I have spoken of poets, so will I speak of the philosophers. Thales Milesius, one of the seven famous wise men, held opinion, that water is the stuff and matter of which all things were made, and that God formed them thereof; granting both one God to be maker of all things, and also telling whereof. For the scriptures call the confused heap of which all things were made, by the name of 'water'; as it is written, "The Spirit of God was borne

Gen. i.

Pythagoras.
[Cicero De
Nat. Deor.
Lib. i. c. 11.]

upon the waters." Pythagoras also defineth God to be a mind, filling and ruling all the portions of the world. And one body hath but one mind; wherefore the world hath but one God. For God is a mind, and the world is the body. He also said, that the number of three was the beginning of all things: teaching the people of his time that God is a Trinity, in a riddle and obscure speech, because it would not be borne openly. If there were many worlds, as some think, it were some probability to say there were

Parmenides.

Aristotle.

many Gods. Parmenides thinketh, that there is but *unum ens*. The noble and worthy philosopher, Aristotle, departing out of this life, prayed unto the same *ens*, saying: *Ens entium, miserere mei*. And well may God be called *ens*, who only is of himself, and all things have their being of him. Plato also saith, that the governance of this world is a monarchy, and that God only both made and ruleth it. Hermes Trismegistus teacheth the same thing; and that he is unsearchable. Marcus Tullius, the famous orator, agreeth with them; who teacheth that God is, *Mens soluta quædam et libera, et segregata ab omni concretionē mortali, omnia sentiens, et omnia movens*; that is to wit: 'God is a simple mind, neither being made of matter and form, neither mingled with accidents, knowing all things, and ordering them.'

Plato.

Hermes.
[Lib. xii.
edit. Lond.
1611.]
Tullius.
[Tusc.
Quæst. i.
c. 27.]

The sibyls also taught the same in old time; which were women that did prophesy before the coming of our Saviour Christ, so called because they did disclose many of God's secrets: for the Æolians call the gods *Sious*, not *Theous*; and counsel or secrets, not *Boulen*, but *Bullen*: and there were ten of them. The most famous of them, which was called Erythræa, saith thus of God:

Εἷς Θεός, ὃς μόνος ἄρχει, ὑπερμέγαθης, ἀγέννητος.

"One God alone there is, I wot,
Both infinite, and unbegot."

Sibylla
Erythræa.

[Sibyl. Orac.
lib. i. pp. 33,
38. Edit.
1555.]

Who is called also, for the same skill, *ameter* and *apator*, 'motherless and fatherless.' She witnesseth also, that this God made heaven, and garnished it with lights; made earth and the waters, saying:

Ἀλλὰ θεός μόνος εἷς, παννέπτατος, ὃς πεποίηκεν
Οὐρανὸν ἡeliόν τε, καὶ ἀστέρας, ἡδὲ σελήνην,
Καρποφόρον γαῖαν τε, καὶ ὕδατος οἷδατα πόντου.

"There is alone one chief God, which did make
The heaven, the sun, the moon, and eke the stars,
The steady earth, and sea floods that shake,
With all fruit bearing trees, &c."

And that he is only to be honoured, and none other thing:

Αὐτὸν τὸν μόνον ὄντα σέβεισθ' ἡγήτορα κόσμου,
Ὅς μόνος εἰς αἰῶνα καὶ ἐξ αἰῶνος ἐτύχθη.

"Him only worship ye,
That ruleth the world alone,
Which hath from the beginning be,
And ever shall be, one."

And she bringeth a reason why, forasmuch as he is governor of the world, and only without beginning and ending. Another sibyl also crieth, that this is the voice of God:

Εἷς μόνος εἰμὶ Θεός, καὶ οὐκ ἐστὶ Θεός ἄλλος.

"I am one God, myself alone,
And, beside me, God is there none."

Apollo also, whom the foolish people for his wisdom Apollo.

supposed to be God, worshipping him as God after his death, when he was demanded what God was, made this answer :

*Αὐτοφύης, ἀδίδακτος, ἀμήτωρ, ἀστυφέλικτος,
Ὄνομα μὴδὲ λόγῳ χωρούμενον, ἐν πυρὶ ναίων,
Τοῦτ' ἐθεός, μικρὰ δὲ θεοῦ μερὶς ἄγγελοι ἡμεῖς.*

“He that is of himself, and of none other,
Whom nought can hurt, who never had a mother,
Whose name can by no means be full exprest,
Who in the fire doth live, and take his rest,
Lo, this is God: as for th' angels and we
Of this great God a right small portion be.”

Acts xvii.

Be not discontent, gentle reader, that I mingle the sayings of philosophers and poets with the verity of the scriptures. For Paul citeth poets to fortify God's providence, saying: “In him we live, move, and have our being; as certain of your own poets say, For we are also his generation.” The prophets also make relation of giants, and of the valley of Titans. Esay telleth of the mermaids, and of the daughters of sparrows; and Jeremy saith of Babylon, that the daughters of mermaids shall dwell in it. The wise man also speaketh of them. Ezechiel mentioneth the destruction of Gog and Magod; which all be spoken of much in poets. The scriptures also use to teach us truth by fables; as the parable of trees in the book of Judges witnesseth, and many other.

God is a
Father.

But to turn to our matter: there is but one God, forasmuch as all men confess him to be a Father, both because he is the fountain of all things, and also giveth all necessities to men as a father. But it is against nature for any man to have many fathers; wherefore it is against nature to worship many gods. He is a Lord also, and a Master; for to him belongeth to avenge and punish: but no man can serve two masters. Wherefore if God be to be honoured, he is one god, not many. If there be many, there can be no God which only is to be honoured.

Luke xvi.

How the
Father,
Christ, and
the Holy
Spirit, be
one God.

But how can the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost, being three, be one God? Truly, because they are one mind, one spirit, one substance, and cannot be separate. The Father is, as it were, a plentiful spring or fountain; the Son is a river gushing out of it. The Father is the sun;

Christ is the beam issuing out of it. The beam cannot be separate from the sun, nor the river from the spring. Christ also is the hand of God, and the holy Comforter is his finger: the hand and finger are not separate from the body. I will declare this with a familiar example. If a father have a son, whom he loveth so much that he maketh him ruler of his house, yet the house is said to be governed by one master and ruler, not many. So the world is the house of one God; and the Father and the Son, because they disagree neither in nature ne in will, are one God. The king's image is called the king, and Christ's image Christ; and yet they be not two kings, nor two Christs: so the Father and Christ are one God, for Christ is the Father's image; no dead image, for he is life and resurrection; nor counterfeit, for he is truth; nor dumb, for he is the word.

But the Arians reply, that as Isay, David, and Salomon, ^{An objection.} are of one substance, and yet they be three men, not one man; that so, albeit the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost, be one in substance, yet they are not one God. I answer, that Isay, David, and Salomon, are called three ^{The answer.} men, not one man; because every one of them, although they be of one substance, hath a diversity in time, in knowledge, in bigness, in place. For there can be no unity where there is diversity. But the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost, are one God, forasmuch as there is no diversity among them. They are all three immortal, of like knowledge and majesty, and not contained in place, but fillers of all places. Many also are called by the name of 'man': as, "the Lord is my helper, I care not what man ^{Psal. cxviii.} may do unto me:" and, "It is better to trust in God than in man." But in men there is unity of certain things only; as of nature, or love, or faith. General unity belongeth only to the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost: wherefore they be one God.

Further, that the Father and Christ are one God, the prophet Esay teacheth, saying: "The Lord hath said more- ^{Isai. xlv.} over, the occupiers of Egypt, the merchants of the Morians and Sabees, shall come unto thee with tribute, they shall be thine: they shall follow thee, and go with chains upon their feet. They shall fall down before thee, and make supplication unto thee: for God is in thee; and there is

no other God beside thee." God the Father speaketh these words to Christ, who is one God with the Father, for the Father is in him; and saith that there is no God beside him. If thou deny them to be one God, thou deniest the divinity of the Father, who saith to Christ, "God is in thee; and there is no God beside thee;" because he is in his Son, for it is written, "The Father that dwelleth in me, is he that doeth the works; and I am in the Father, and the Father in me." There is no God beside him, because they both are one God. God is in God, and yet there be not two Gods; and the Lord is in the Lord, and yet they be not two Lords: for we are forbidden to serve two Lords, *Nemo potest duobus dominis servire*. But both the Father and Christ are to be honoured and served.

John xiv. For of Christ it is written, that "the three wise men kneeled down and worshipped him, and opened their treasures, and offered unto him gifts, gold, frankincense and myrrh:" by gold, confessing him to be a king; by frankincense, to be God; and by myrrh, to be man: neither are they blamed therefore. A woman of Cane worshippeth¹ him, and obtaineth her request. And Paul, in the beginning of all his letters, professeth himself to be the servant of Jesu Christ; wherefore he is to be honoured: and then he is one God with the Father; for it is written, "Thou shalt worship the Lord thy God, and him only shalt thou serve." "You call me," saith Christ, "Lord and Master, and ye say well; for so am I." And he warneth us, that we call not one another Master; for one is our Master.

Luke xvi. Matt. ii. Matt. xv. Rom. i. Gal. i. Matt. iv. John xiii. Matt. xxiii.

The apostle also witnesseth, that there is but one divinity, one power and majesty of Christ and the Father, saying, "Although there be that are called Gods, whether in heaven or in earth (as there be Gods many, and Lords many) yet unto us is there but *unus Deus*, one God, which is the Father, of whom are all things, and we in him, and *unus Dominus*, one Lord, Jesus Christ, by whom are all things, and we by him." For as in that he saith, that there is but "one Lord Jesus Christ," the Father is not denied to be Lord; so these words, "unto us there is but one God, which is the Father," deny not Christ to be God. He numbereth not him among those which are Gods by nuncupation; but

[¹ Worshippeth, 1550; worshipped, 1560.]

joineth and completh him with the Father, from whom he is unseparable. The prophet Baruch saith of him: "He Baruch iii. is our God, and there is none other able to be compared unto him." Wherefore, either we must grant him to be one God with the Father, or else make the Father underling to his Son; for none is to be compared to him. That the prophet speaketh these words of Christ, the same text following sheweth: "It is he that hath found out all wisdom, and hath given her unto Jacob his servant, and to Israel his beloved. Afterward did he shew himself upon earth, and dwelt among men." This text declareth also, that Christ governed the congregation of the Israelites; in that he saith, "He found out all wisdom, and gave her unto Jacob and Israel." Read that chapter, and thou shalt find, that he prepared the earth at the beginning, and filled it with all manner of fowls and beasts; and that he governeth the same; and that he wotteth all things; that he is great, and hath no end, high and unmeasurable; which things all prove him one God with the Father; as he testifieth of himself, saying to his Father, *Hæc est vita æterna*, &c. "This John xvii. is life everlasting, that they might know the only true God, and whom thou hast sent, Jesus Christ;" that is, that they might know thee and Jesus Christ, to be the only true God. Neither doth 'only' here deny the Holy Ghost to be one God with them; forasmuch as he is of the same essence that they be, for he proceedeth of them both; no more than the Father is excluded by the same word, and the Son, where it is written, "The things of God knoweth 1 Cor. ii. none, but the Spirit of God." The Father and Christ are not excluded from that knowledge, which is said here to appertain only to the Holy Ghost. So whensoever they two are said to be the only true God, the almighty Comforter is not denied to be God also with them.

We read in the Revelation of St John, of a name which Rev. xix. none knew, but he only who had it written, that is Christ: and yet both the Father knew it, who knoweth all science, and the almighty Comforter also, "for he searcheth all Ecclus. xlii. things, yea, the bottom of God's secrets." Wherefore, when Moses crieth, "Hearken, Israel, the Lord thy God is one God;" when all the prophets preach, that there be no more Gods but one; the divine nature and essence is not denied

to Christ and to the almighty Comforter, no more than dominion and lordship is denied to the Father, because Paul saith, "To us is but one Lord Jesus Christ." So God is said only to have immortality; and yet neither Christ is mortal¹, who saith unto the rebellious Jews, "Verily, verily, I say unto you, If a man keep my word, he shall never see death;" for if the keeping of Christ's word lead us to immortality, how much more is he himself immortal, without beginning or end!—neither the holy Comforter; for of him Paul writeth, "If the blood of oxen and of goats, and the ashes of an heifer, when it was sprinkled, purified the unclean, as touching the purifying of the flesh; how much more shall the blood of Christ, which through the eternal Spirit offered himself without spot unto God, purge your consciences from dead works, to serve the living God!" So God is said only to forgive sin, only to be wise, only to be mighty, only to be good; which texts and sayings are spoken of the glorious Trinity. If they were spoken of the Father only, as the Arians teach, then the evangelist would have said, "Who can forgive sins, but the Father only?" and, "None is God, save the Father only." Paul also saith not, "Unto the Father wise only," but, "Unto God, king everlasting, immortal, invisible, and wise only," that is, to the blessed Trinity, "be honour and praise for ever and ever." For if we take him otherwise, we make him a liar, who granteth power, immortality, and wisdom, in diverse and sundry places, both to Christ our Saviour, and to the Spirit the Comforter. And these things do only appertain and belong to them three; neither are they attribute to any other. Whereupon it must needs follow, that they be one God. Nothing proveth this more plainly than the Hebrew text, wheresoever the scripture crieth unto us that there is but one God.

Deut. vi. Moses saith unto the Israelites, *Jehovah Elohim, Jehovah echad*; that is, "The Lord our God is one God," or "one Lord." This text cannot be spoken of the Father only; for the Hebrew word for God is *Elohim*, of the plural number, not of the singular; to teach us, that there be three unconfounded; which nevertheless are declared to be one God, and of one essence, majesty, and power, for so much as they are *Jehovah echad*. For Jehovah is the

1 Cor. viii.

1 Tim. vi.

John viii.

Heb. ix.

Luke v.
1 Tim. i.
1 Tim. vi.
Luke xviii.

peculiar, special, honourable, and most blessed name of God, for which the Jews did use to read *Adonai*: not that it could not be expressed in their language, but for a more reverence to God's name. Moses also saith in another place: "Unto thee it was shewed, that thou mightest know Deut. iv. that the Lord is God, and that there is none but he:" where, as for God, the English, he useth *Elohim*, so for the Lord, he useth *Jehovah*. Esay the prophet doth likewise; speaking of one God, and rejecting all other. Isai. xlv. Wherefore the Trinity is one, everlasting, and the only immutable, invisible, and Almighty God.

I will prove this to be true in these four words; power, name, light, virtue. For the Father is Almighty; as it is written, "I am the Lord Almighty." And the Son also is Gen. xvii. Almighty; for the wise man calleth him, "The Almighty Wisd. xi. hand," and "The Almighty word" of God. The holy Wisd. xviii. Comforter also is Almighty; forasmuch as he is, "The finger of God:" wherefore they are one God.

They have also one name; for the apostles are com- They have one name. mand to christen all nations in the name of the Father, of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost. Note here, that the scripture saith, "In the name," not "In the names;" and Matt. xxviii. to teach us that there is one divinity, one majesty, and one name, of the three persons, the scripture telleth, that Christ and the Holy Ghost come not in divers and sundry names, but in one name. Christ saith, "I come in my John v. Father's name, and ye receive me not." This name of the Father is Christ's name also; for the Lord saith, in the book of Departure, to him: *Ego antecedo in nomine meo, et* [Exod. xxxiii.] *vocabo te nomine meo Domini, in conspectu tuo*; that is, "I will go before thee in my name, and I will call thee by my name Lord, in thy presence." Thou learnest here, that Christ and his Father have one name: learn also, that the almighty and all-knowing Comforter hath the selfsame name, in that he cometh in the name of Christ; as it is written, "That Comforter, the Holy Ghost, whom the Fa- John xiv. ther will send in my name." He is sent in Christ's name; wherefore he hath one name with him and the Father. This is the name of the blessed Trinity, of which it is written, "There is no other name under heaven, in which we must Acts iv. be saved:" wherefore they have but one divinity.

I will prove the same of those things which the scripture saith of God. "God is light," saith John, "and in him is no darkness." Christ also is light: for of John the Baptist it is written, "He was not the light, but to bear witness of the light, which lighteth all men coming into the world."

God is light. 1 John i.

Christ is the true light. John i.

Ergo, Christ is the true God.

Of the almighty Comforter also it is written: *Signatum est super nos lumen*, "The light of thy countenance, O Lord, is sealed upon us." But who is the light sealed? Who is the seal? That is the Holy Ghost; of whom Paul writeth, Eph. i. "Ye are sealed with the holy Spirit of promise, which is the earnest of our inheritance." Note also, that he is not another light, but the same light that the Father is; for he is the light of his countenance: wherefore he is the same God, and one God with the Father and the Son. But some fellow will ask me, where I find the Father to be light. Truly, Heb. i. in Paul, who calleth Christ "the brightness of everlasting light;" where by everlasting light the Father is meant.

Christ also is virtue; for Paul calleth him, *Dei virtutem atque sapientiam*, "The virtue and wisdom of God." We read also, that the Father is virtue; where it is written, Matt. xxvi. *Videbitis Filium hominis ad dextram virtutis*, "Ye shall see Christ, ye shall see the Son of Man on the right hand of the virtue, or power." And that the Holy Ghost is virtue, Christ witnesseth, saying, *Accipietis virtutem advenientem in vos Spiritus sancti*, "You shall receive virtue, or power, of the Holy Ghost." Luke also speaketh this of the Holy Ghost, *Virtus exibat de eo*, "Virtue gushed out of him." Wherefore they be one God.

The Son is life; who saith, "I am the way, truth, and life." So the Father also is life; as John witnesseth, saying, 1 John i. "That which was from the beginning, which we have heard, which we have seen with our eyes, which we have looked upon, and our hands have handled, of the Word of life: for the life appeared, and we have seen, and bear witness, and shew unto you that eternal life, which was with the Father." Here he named our Saviour Christ "the Word of life," and

“eternal life.” But what meaneth he by calling him “the Word of life,” than that he is the Word of the Father? Wherefore the Father also is life. And if so be the apostle call Christ life, why is not the all-knowing Comforter life, who is the Spirit of life? as it is written, “The Spirit of Ezek. i. life was in the wheels.” Note here, reader, that Christ is not another life, but the same life that the Father is, inasmuch as he is that eternal life which was with the Father. For if he be one life with the Father, then must he needs be one God with him.

The Father also is a flood; as he recordeth of himself, God is a flood or stream. Isai. lxvi. “I will flow upon you like a waterflood of peace, and like a flowing stream.” And Christ calleth the almighty Comforter a flood, saying, “Out of his belly shall flow rivers of water John vii. of life; (this spake he of the Spirit).” Wherefore the Holy Ghost is a flood, or stream, and that a mighty and great flood, washing and cleansing the heavenly city of Hierusalem from all filth and uncleanness; as David witnesseth, “There is a flood, which with his rivers rejoiceth the city of God, the holy dwelling of the Highest.” No other stream can wash, purify, and cleanse us, but this. God grant that this flood may overflow the banks of England! God send it into the court, and into the king’s chamber, into his heart, and into his council’s chamber, and into the midst of the parliament house, to wash and banish away all covetousness in spiritual things, as ferming of benefices, pluralities of prebends and personages, absence from cures, from colleges, impropriations, first-fruits, &c., and partiality, and the greedy wolf of ambition, pride, unmercifulness and oppression, out of the hearts of nobility. God send it into the hearts of bishops, that they may once again yet be preaching prelates; and all priests, that they may pour forth clean and pure doctrine, as diligently as they have poured holy water many a day. The Holy Spirit is the true holy water, the true flood, washing away our sins; not the unprofitable ceremonies of the sire of Rome. Wherefore our Saviour Christ must needs be a flood also; for out of him gush these streams of eternal life.

They have also one operation, and they do work all They have one grace. things unseparably, as I have proved in the chapter before, where I declared man’s soul to be the image of God. Wherefore they have one divinity. Moreover it is written :

Gal. i. "Grace with you and peace from God the Father, and our Lord Jesus Christ." Behold, thou seest here, that one grace cometh from the Father and the Son, and one peace likewise. The same also come from the Holy Ghost; for of Gal. v. peace it is written, "The fruit of the Spirit is love, joy, peace, long-suffering:" and Zachary calleth him the Spirit of grace: God hath promised to "pour upon Hierusalem the Spirit of grace and mercy." And Peter saith to those that were pricked in their hearts through his preaching, *Accipietis gratiam Spiritus sancti*, "You shall receive the grace of Acts ii. the Holy Ghost."

One charity. They have also one charity and one love; for of the John xiv. Father and the Son it is written, "Who loveth me shall be loved of my Father, and I will love him;" and of the holy Comforter, "The fruit of the Spirit is love." Through this love of all the three persons, Christ suffered death that we might live; for of the Father it is written, "God so loved the world, that he gave his only-begotten Son;" and of Christ, John iii. "I live by the faith of the Son of God, which loved me, and gave himself for me;" the Spirit also gave him, for Paul Gal. ii. saith of Christ, "Which through the eternal Spirit offered Heb. ix. himself without spot unto God."

One counsel. They have also one counsel; for Esay calleth the Holy Isai. xi. Ghost, "The spirit of counsel and strength;" and Christ is called, *Angelus magni consilii*, "An angel of great counsel," because he is the wisdom of God. They are of one will: they command and forbid one thing; their calling is not divers, but one. And as the Father is called Lord, so is Judg. xiv. the holy Comforter, so is Christ. We read that the Spirit of the Lord came upon Sampson, whom he calleth also his 'strength', saying, "If my hair were cut off, my strength would go from me." But after that his seven locks were cut Judg. xvi. away, the scripture saith, that the Lord departed from him; calling the Spirit which governed him, 'Lord'.

If they have one nature, one kingdom, one power, one counsel, one operation, one name, one virtue, one life, one peace, one grace, one commandment, one vocation, one will; and seeing they be one light, one charity, one stream, and one Lord, how can they be divers Gods? There is a general unity of all things in them; wherefore they must needs be one God also.

I trust now it be sufficiently fortified and established, that there is but one God of heaven and earth, who governeth and ordereth all things. Natural reason proclaimeth this, as it were out of some high place, unto all creatures. His almighty and everlasting power proveth the same. The poets confess and grant him to be, alone; the philosophers condescend to them; the Sibyls magnify and acknowledge him; the false gods of the Pagans themselves confess him; the prophets of the true God evermore taught this; the evangelists and apostles fortify the same; nature preacheth one God, which acknowledgeth one world; faith telleth us the same, for there is but one faith of both testaments, as the apostle witnesseth; and baptism also, for there is but one bath of holy baptism, which is ministered in the name of the Trinity. The glorious death of many thousands of martyrs, both of men, children, women, and virgins, which by no manner of torments could be plucked away from this faith, have sealed it; and the constant and stedfast consent, agreement, and conspiracy of all times and nations, with one mind and accord hath enacted this; so that the gates of hell shall not prevail against it.

THE TWENTY-NINTH CHAPTER.

All the parts of the definition made of God are proved to agree unto Christ.

As I have spoken of all three persons of the blessed Trinity together, so now for a more evident proof of my last content, I will fortify out of the store-house of the scriptures, that all the parts of my definition made of the only King of kings, immortal and almighty God, do belong and appertain also both unto Christ, and to the all-knowing and most blessed Comforter.

The first parcel of my definition was, "God is a spiritual substance." That Christ is a substance, no man will deny; Christ is a substance.

Lam. iv.

Christ is a spirit.

2 Cor. iii.

A single nature and not mixed.

Rom. viii.

for he is no accident. Read my twenty-third chapter¹, and there thou shalt find this thing proved. But how can you prove that he is a spiritual substance? The prophet Jeremy saith, *Spiritus ante faciem nostram, Christus Dominus*; that is, "The Spirit before us, Christ the Lord." Note, that he calleth him both a Spirit and Lord. If he² be no spirit, he cannot be God, for God is a Spirit: and inasmuch as he is a spirit and a substance, he is a spiritual substance; not touching his humanity, but touching that nature in which he is Lord; as the prophet declareth very well, saying, "The Spirit before us, Christ the Lord:" meaning that he is Lord, in that he is a Spirit; for the Lord is a Spirit.

"Pure nature" followeth in the definition. By the word 'pure' is meant, that God is one and a singular substance, not mixed, not compost. Either Christ is such a substance, or else he is a creature. If he be a creature, then is he subdued to vanity, not willingly; for the apostle witnesseth, *Quippe vanitati creatura subjacet, non volens*.

Every creature is subdued to vanity.

Christ is not subdued to vanity.

Ergo, Christ is no creature.

That Christ is not subdued to vanity, I prove thus:

John xiv.

The ruler of this world came, and found nothing in him. Ergo, he is not subdued to vanity.

Eccles. i.

But some Arians will say, that he was subdued unto vanity, in that he took our nature upon him, to restore us when we were forlorn: for the preacher crieth of all things under heaven, "All is but vanity, all is but plain vanity." Albeit this were truly spoken, yet cannot St Paul's saying be verified of Christ; who saith, "Every creature is subdued unto vanity, not willingly." Christ took our nature willingly, restored us willingly by his precious death and passion, as he himself doth testify: "No man doth take my life from me, but I put it away myself." Wherefore he is no creature. Ergo, he is a pure, simple, and single nature, without all mixture or composition.

[¹ Twenty-third, 1550; twenty-fourth, 1560.]

[² He, 1550; there, 1560.]

"Immutable:" Paul telleth us, that he is immutable. For in his letter to his countrymen he witnesseth, that the Father speaketh these words of the hundredth and first³ psalm unto Christ: "Thou, Lord, in the beginning hast laid the foundation of the earth; and the heavens are the works of thy hands: they shall perish, but thou shall endure: they shall wax old as doth a garment; and as a vesture shalt thou change them, and they shall be changed: but thou art the same," that is, unchangeable, "and thy years shall not fail." Lo, the Father witnesseth that Christ is immutable. We read also, *Jesu Christus heri et hodie idem est, etiam in secula*, "Jesus Christ, yesterday and to-day, and the same continueth for ever." This property, belonging to no creature, proveth him God: for

Heb. i.
Psal. cii.

God only is immutable.

Jesus Christ is immutable.

Ergo, Jesus Christ is God.

"Invisible:" this is another property which the scriptures give unto God. Christ is a Spirit, touching one nature. Then if all spirits, if our souls, be invisible, how much more is Christ invisible, the maker of spirits and souls! Paul calleth him, touching this nature, *virtutem Dei*, "the virtue, or power of God." Wherefore he is invisible, unsearchable. Paul in the same place calleth him "the wisdom of God;" and the wisdom of God is unsearchable.

1 Cor. i.

There followeth in the definition, "filling heaven and earth." This also belongeth unto Christ, for of him it is written: "Wisdom reacheth from one end to another mightily, and ordereth all things lovingly." Harken also what he saith unto his disciples: "Wheresoever two or three be gathered together in my name, there am I in the midst of them." This proveth him to be the true God: for no creature can be everywhere.

He filleth
heaven and
earth.

Wisd. viii.

Matt. xviii.

"Full of understanding:" he is "the wisdom of God." "Full of truth:" "I am the way, truth, and life." "Full

Wisd. viii.
1 Cor. i.
John xiv.

[³ Hutchinson follows the numeration of the Septuagint and the Vulgate: in our arrangement of the Psalms, which adheres to the Hebrew, this is the 102nd.]

[⁴ These references are introduced into the text of the edition of 1550, as well as inserted in the margin.]

of righteousness :” *Pater non judicat quemquam, sed omne judicium dedit Filio*, “The Father judgeth no man, but hath given all judgment unto Christ ;” who in the last day shall appear, both unto good men and evil, in that form in which he suffered, not in his divine nature. The Father is said to judge no man, because neither he nor his Son in his divinity shall be seen in judgment ; for their divinity is all one. Then Christ is full of righteousness, forasmuch as he shall judge the world in his humanity ; unto whom the Father saith, “God, thy seat shall be for ever and ever : the sceptre of thy kingdom is a right sceptre. Thou hast loved righteousness, and hated wickedness.” “Full of mercy :” “The wisdom from above is full of mercy.” When he was “equal with God, he made himself of no reputation, and took upon him the shape of a servant,” for our sakes, which were his enemies. “Full of wisdom :” “In Christ are hid all the treasures of wisdom and knowledge.” “Full of all manner of goodness :” “For in him dwelleth all the fulness of the godhead bodily ;” and, “Of his fulness have all we received, grace for grace.” James also witnesseth, that “the wisdom from above is pure, peaceable, gentle, easy to be entreated, full of mercy and good fruits.”

John v.

Psal. xlv.
Heb. i.James iii.¹
Philip. ii.Col. ii.¹

Col. ii.

John i.

James iii.

John xiv.

John viii.

The next property of God is to be “eternal.” This belongeth to Christ ; for he is the beginning of all things, he is the progress or middle course, and he is the end and prick. The beginning and ending ; for he saith, “I am Alpha and Omega, the beginning and the ending.” And he is the middle course, in that he saith, “I am the way.” He promiseth life without end to such as keep his word, saying, “Verily, verily, I say unto you, If a man keep my word, he shall never see death :” therefore he himself must needs be immortal.

Nothing is without end and beginning, save God only.
Christ is without beginning and end.
Ergo, Christ is God.

There followeth in the definition of God, “maker of all things.” That Christ made all things, Paul recordeth, saying : “For by him were all things created ; things that are

Col. i.

[¹ These references are introduced into the text of the edition of 1550, as well as inserted in the margin.]

in heaven, and things that are in earth, things visible, and things invisible; whether they be majesty, or lordship, either rule, or power."

He that made all things is God. Heb. iii.

Jesus Christ made all things. Col. i.

Ergo, Jesus² Christ is God.

Then it followeth in the same description, "subject to nothing, and governing all things." He is subject to nothing; for we read of him, "He that cometh from heaven is above John iii. all." He governeth all things; for he saith, "Whatsoever John v. the Father doth, that doth the Son also:" "My Father worketh hitherto, and I work:" "Whatsoever we ask the Father in his name, he will do it:" and, "Without him we can do nothing." This declareth him to be God by nature; not by nuncupation only, as they of whom it is written, *Ego dii, Dii estis*, "I have said, You are Gods." Psal. lxxxiii.

It followeth, "knowing all things." Nothing hath this knowledge but God; as I have proved before. But we read, that Christ knew the inward thoughts and intents of men: "Jesus did not put himself in their hands, because he knew John ii.³ all men; and needed not that any should testify of them, for he knew what was in man." He knew the hour of his death; Matt. xxvi. he knew that all his disciples should be offended in him that time; he knew that Peter would fall and rise again; he knew what would become of Judas; he opened the minds of his disciples, that they might understand the scriptures; Luke xxiv. and the disciples confess him to know all things, saying, "Now we know, that thou knowest all things, and needest John xvi. not to ask any question."

The next thing appertaining only to God is, "forgiving of sin:" for I have proved before that no creature can do this. But we read that Christ forgiveth sin, and is reviled of the Mark ii. Pharisees therefore; who also forgiveth many sins to Mary Luke vii. Magdalene, because she loved much.

"To be honoured:" John would have worshipped an Rev. xxii. angel, but the angel forbiddeth him; the wise men, the Ca- Matt. ii. nanite, Mary Magdalene, Joanna, Mary of James, and other, Matt. xv.

[² Jesus Christ, 1550; Christ, 1560.]

[³ This reference is introduced into the text of the edition of 1550, as well as inserted in the margin.]

worshipped Christ, and were not blamed therefore. And Paul in his Epistles confesseth himself the servant, not of any angel or archangel, but of Jesus Christ. Wherefore he is one God with the Father: for one God only is to be worshipped.

There followeth in the definition of God, "to be called upon," and, "that he pondereth our desires." That Christ is to be prayed unto for all manner of things, the prophet Esay teacheth us, saying, "The root of Jesse shall be set up for a token: the heathen shall pray unto him." St Stephen crieth unto him, "Lord Jesu, receive my spirit." Paul asketh him, "Lord, Lord, what shall I do?" and he is taught. Paul also prayeth unto him and the Father together, saying, "God himself our Father, and our Lord Jesus Christ, guide our journey unto you." And again: "Our Lord Jesu Christ himself, and God our Father, which hath loved us, and hath given us everlasting consolation, and good hope through grace, comfort your hearts, and stablish you in all doctrine and good doing." The apostle sheweth, that he is one God with the Father, and of equal power; in that he offereth one prayer to them both, and in that he putteth otherwhiles the Father foremost, and otherwhiles our Saviour Christ, justifying and saving us. Who justifieth and saveth us, but he who is our Saviour, our ransom, our spokesman, our mercy-stock, the end of the law to all believers? Of whom Jeremy saith: "This is the name that they shall call him, The Lord our justifier."

"Almighty" followeth, and endeth the definition. If it be true, which Paul saith, "I can do all things, through the help of Christ which strengtheneth me;" how much more is Christ almighty himself, of whom John writeth, *Dicit Dominus omnipotens*, "The Lord almighty saith." And the wise man calleth him the almighty hand, the almighty arm, the almighty word, of God. Seeing, therefore, the scriptures do continually preach one God, and the same do grant all things belonging to the majesty of the Godhead, unto Jesus Christ; either we must deny the Father to be the almighty and only invisible God, or else we must confess his Son, by verity and unity of nature, to be one God with him.

Rom. i.
Philip. i.

Matth. iv.

Isai. xi.

Acts vii.

Acts ix.

1 Thes. iii.

2 Thes. ii.

1 John i.
Rom. x.

Jer. xxxiii.

Philip. iv.

Rev. i.

Wisd. xi.
xviii.

THE THIRTIETH CHAPTER.

All the parts of the same definition are proved to agree to the almighty Comforter and Spirit.

THE all-knowing Comforter also is one God with them both; forasmuch as it cannot be denied but that all and every one of the same things do appertain unto him. For a plain and evident proof of this, I will course over the definition, or rather description, of God once again; proving the same to be the definition of the holy Comforter.

God is a "spiritual substance:" so is the holy Comforter. That he is a Spirit, no man will deny: that he is a substance, not a godly motion or concitation, not an accident, I have proved in my twenty-fourth¹ chapter. He is also a "pure nature, unmixed, uncompost, uncreate;" for he is no creature, which all, and every one, are bond and servants unto their maker, not free nor at their liberty, as it is written: *Unicversa serviunt tibi*, "All things serve thee." The Holy Spirit speaketh this by David. He saith not *servimus*, we serve thee, but *serviunt*, they serve. Paul also saith, *Creatura liberabitur a servitute corruptionis*, "The creature shall be delivered from the bondage of corruption." But of the Holy Ghost it is written, *Ubi Spiritus Domini, ibi libertas*, "Where is the Spirit of the Lord, there is freedom." We read also of him, that he divideth to every man several gifts as he will. 1 Cor. xii.

All creatures do serve: Psalm cxix.

The Holy Ghost is at liberty: 2 Cor. iii.

Ergo, the Holy Ghost is no creature.

And if he be no creature, he is a singular and pure nature, void of all composition and mixture.

"Immutable:" whatsoever is mutable² is a creature. "Invisible:" all spirits be invisible, but not immutable; for

[¹ xxiii, 1550; xxiii, 1560.]

[² Mutable, 1550; immutable, 1560.]

to be both immutable and invisible appertaineth only to the majesty of God. Wherefore the Holy Ghost is God.

“Filling heaven and earth,” followeth in the definition; which thing truly belongeth only to the divine and blessed nature: as the Psalmograph witnesseth, *Domini est terra et plenitudo ejus*, “The earth and the fulness thereof is the Lord’s.” And he saith by Jeremy, “I fill heaven and earth.” Now, that the blessed Comforter doth so, the book of Wisdom telleth, saying, “The Spirit of the Lord filleth the round compass of the world;” and David teacheth the same, saying, “Whither shall I go then from thy spirit? whither shall I go from thy presence? If I climb up into heaven,” &c. What angel, what archangel, what rule, what power, what creature, is said to fill the world? the which the holy Comforter doth: yea, and more than the whole world, for he filleth the Saviour of the world, as it is written, “Christ, full of the Holy Ghost, returned from Jordan.”

God only is everywhere:

The Holy Ghost is everywhere:

Ergo, the Holy Ghost is God.

“Unsearchable.” No man can comprehend what manner of thing his own spirit and soul is; and the mind, which almost judgeth and discusseth all things, is not able to discuss itself: much more the Spirit of the almighty God surmounteth our understandings, and not only ours, but also of angels and archangels; for of the Spirit David writeth, “God, which is thy God, hath anointed thee with the oil of gladness above thy fellows.” The Holy Ghost is this oil and anointment: for Peter witnesseth, that Christ was anointed with the Holy Ghost. And well is the Holy Ghost named the ‘oil of gladness,’ lest thou shouldest suppose him to be a creature. For the nature of oil is such, that it will not be mingled with any moist creature, but heaveth aloft, and keepeth above, when other natures descend to the bottom.

“Full of understanding:” for he is the Spirit of understanding. “Full of truth:” for he is the Spirit of truth, which the world cannot receive, and which proceedeth from the Father; and of him it is written, “He shall teach you all truth.” “Full of righteousness:” for as the Son is our

judge, so judgment belongeth to the holy Comforter; as it is written, "When I depart I will send the Comforter unto you: when he is come, he shall judge the world of sin, of righteousness, and of judgment." This text teacheth him to be a punisher of sin, an avenger of unrighteousness and wrong judgments. Noble king Salomon, through his inspiration, gave rightful judgment of the two infants. Daniel, except he had been inspired by him, could never have disclosed the lie of lechery. When Susanna was condemned unto death through the false accusation of the elders, she cried with a loud voice unto God, and obtained remedy. When she was led forth unto death, it is registered, that "the Lord raised up the spirit of a young child, whose name was Daniel," &c. Also the spirit of Moses was divided among seventy of the elders of Israel, that they might judge the people according to right. Wherefore the Holy Ghost, who both teacheth other to judge aright, and is a judge himself, must needs be full of all righteousness.

"Full of mercy." He is full of mercy, forasmuch as he sent Christ to restore us, when we were forlorn, as the prophet telleth us in Christ's person, *Misit me Dominus et Spiritus ejus*, "the Lord sent me and his Spirit." His sending is his incarnation, as I have proved before. "Full of wisdom;" for he is the Spirit of counsel and wisdom. "Full of all manner of goodness." He is the Spirit of life, the Spirit of knowledge, wisdom, and understanding, counsel, strength, of the fear of God, of truth, of sanctification, of judgment, of adoption, of promise, of grace; and love, joy, peace, long-suffering, gentleness, and goodness itself, faithfulness, meekness, temperance, be the fruits and gifts of the Holy Spirit.

"Eternal." Many things be everlasting which had their beginning, as angels, as the soul of man, and other; but they are not eternal, for that appertaineth only to the majesty of the deity. That the holy and almighty Comforter is eternal, the apostle witnesseth, saying: "How much more shall the blood of Christ, who through the eternal Spirit offered himself without spot to God, purge your consciences!" He is not content to call him 'eternal,' but telleth us also, that Christ through the Spirit offered himself a slain sacrifice for our sins. And we read, that Christ before the

foundation of the world chose us. Wherefore the holy Comforter, who was the work-master thereof, was before the foundation of the world. And forasmuch as he was before all, he hath no end; for that which is without all beginning, is also without ending.

God only is eternal:

The Holy Ghost is eternal:

Ergo, the Holy Ghost is God.

Job xxvi.

Psal. xxxiii.

Gen. i.

Psal. civ.

"Maker of all things." Job telleth, that "God with his Spirit garnished the heavens;" unto whom David agreeth, saying, "The Spirit of his mouth formed all the hosts of them." Wherefore in the work of creation Moses maketh relation of him, shewing us, that "the Spirit of God was borne upon the waters." Basil, who for his great learning was surnamed *magnus*, expoundeth this text of the Holy Ghost, and saith that his predecessors took it so¹; and St Austin is of the same mind²; and Philip Melancthon alloweth their interpretation³, as I declared before. For truly the word 'spirit' cannot signify wind in that place; the which, when these words were spoken, was uncreate. What is meant then by these words, "Borne upon the waters?" Verily, no blast of wind; but, that he sat on the waters. For as the hen sitting on her eggs hatcheth her young ones, so the Holy Ghost hatcheth all creatures, which there are called 'waters,' as it is written: "When thou lettest thy Spirit go forth, they are made; so thou renewest the face of thy earth."

He that made all things is God: Heb. iii.

The Holy Ghost made all things:

Ergo, the Holy Ghost is God.

Psal. cii.

Psal. viii.

Job also saith of him, *Spiritus divinus qui fecit me*, "The divine Spirit who made me;" confessing him both divine, and his maker. And as, when we read, *Opera manuum tuarum sunt celi*, "The heavens are the works of thy hand," we acknowledge Christ the maker of the world, who is God's hand; so, when we read, *Videbo celos tuos, opera digitorum tuorum, lunam et stellas, quæ tu fundasti*, that is, "I will behold the heavens, the workmanship of thy fingers, the moon

[¹ Vide p. 64. n. 1.]

[² Vide p. 65. n. 2.]

[³ Vide p. 65. n. 3.]

and the stars, which thou hast made;" let us acknowledge also the Holy Ghost, God's finger, to be our maker, forasmuch as the same works, in other places, are called the works of God. For as, when the hand worketh, the fingers work also; so the whole Trinity formed all things of a confused heap, whose works be inseparable: as I have proved before.

"Governor of all things." The canticle of Moses recordeth, that he governed the congregation of the Israelites. For when they had passed over the sea, they gave hearty thanks for their deliverance to all the three Persons: to the Father and the Son, in these words, "Thy right hand, O Lord, is glorious in power, thy right hand hath also dashed the enemies;" and to the Holy Ghost, saying, "With the spirit of thine anger the water gathered together as a rock." For Christ is God's right hand; and by the word 'spirit' the Holy Ghost is meant; and in that he saith, 'Lord,' he signifieth the Father. Wherefore their deliverance is the workmanship of the whole Trinity, which worketh all things in heaven and earth. But the prophet Esay protesteth the governance of the Holy Ghost more plainly, saying: "Where is he who brought them from the water of the sea, as a shepherd doth his flock? where is he which led Moses by the right hand with his glorious arm? Where is he that led them in the deep, as an horse is led in the plain?" and he answereth, "The Spirit of the Lord led them, as a tame beast goeth in the field." The same Spirit governeth the present congregation; giving "to one utterance of wisdom, to another faith, to another gifts of healing, to another power to do miracles, to another prophecy, to another judgment of spirits, to another diverse tongues, to another interpretation," as the apostle witnesseth; which be necessary offices in the church. Exod. xv.

Who gave Simeon an answer, that he should not see death before he had seen our spokesman, Jesus Christ? The Holy Ghost. Who leadeth the congregation into all truth? Who teacheth us all verity? The Holy Ghost. Who commandeth to separate Paul and Barnabas to the work whereunto he had called them; that is, to preach the sweet tidings of the gospel to the Gentiles? The Holy Ghost. Who forbiddeth them to preach in Asia? who commandeth Peter, Isai. lxiij.

Acts viii.

to arise, and get him down, and go with Cornelius' servants? Who sent those servants unto Simon the tanner's house for Peter? The Holy Ghost. Who monisheth Philip, the deacon, to join himself to the chariot of the eunuch¹, which was chamberlain to Candace, queen of the Ethiopians? The Holy Ghost. Do not these texts prove him to govern the congregation? to be mindful of both good and evil? Do they not deny him to be a creature? Do they not fortify him to be the third person in the glorious Trinity, and to be God? Yes, verily.

All things are governed by God:
The Holy Ghost governeth all things:
Ergo, the Holy Ghost is God.

Isai. xi.

1 Cor. ii.

Mark xiii.

1 Cor. ii.

"Knowing all things," followeth: the which belongeth to the all-knowing Comforter, forasmuch as he is the Spirit of knowledge. The apostle witnesseth, that man neither by the help of his outward senses, nor through the gift of reason, can attain to the understanding of those things which are prepared for the chosen. He denieth this knowledge to the senses, saying, *Oculus non vidit, neque auris audit*, "The eye hath not seen, and the ear hath not heard;" for these be the two principal powers: and to all man's reason and wisdom, by these words following, *Neque in cor*, "Neither hath entered into the heart of man the things," &c.; for the heart is the place of understanding. Angels also are ignorant of some things, as of the last day and hour; which the Father knoweth only. But of the holy Comforter it is written, "The Spirit searcheth all things, yea, the bottom of God's secrets." Paul is not content only to say this of the Spirit, but he addeth two arguments proving the same. The one is a similitude; that, as the spirit of man knoweth the things of man, so the Spirit of God knoweth the things of God; and all things be his; ergo, he knoweth all things. His other reason is, that the spiritual man through his inspiration discusseth all things.

He who knoweth all things is God:
The Holy Ghost knoweth all things:
Ergo, the Holy Ghost is God.

[¹ The same alteration has been made here as in p. 136, and p. 158.]

The next property in my definition, belonging to God only, is "to forgive sin." How prove you that the Holy Ghost can do this? Hearken what Christ, our mercy-stock, saith: "Receive the Holy Ghost: whose sins ye remit, they are John xx. remitted unto them." Note, that the Holy Ghost pardoneth sin. No man can remit sin. They do only minister forgiveness in the name of the Father, of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost. They pray, God pardoneth; they employ their service, remission and mercy cometh from above: as I have declared and proved in my chapter, that God only forgiveth sin.

Furthermore, "Ye^s are washed," saith Paul, "ye are 1 Cor. vi. sanctified, ye are justified, by the name of the Lord Jesu, and by the Spirit of our God:" ergo, the Spirit forgiveth sin. The prophet Esay telleth, that "one of the seraphins, Isai. vi. with a hot coal taken from the altar with tongs, touched his mouth, and his sin was molten away." He meaneth neither charcoal nor sea-coal, but the coal of the Holy Ghost; who may be well called a coal, for he is fire: wherefore the Holy Ghost doth forgive sin. No man can deny but that in baptism sins be forgiven. The Holy Ghost by baptism doth regenerate us, and make us God's children. For that we should believe him to be a worker in baptism with the Father and the Son, the bath of holy baptism is Matth. xxviii. commanded to be ministered in this name also. And, for the same skill, it pleased the glorious Trinity he should appear notably at Christ's baptizing, in the likeness of a dove. And as for Christ, he was not baptized for any wrinkle of sin, but for our example and only erudition. Seeing, then, the Holy Ghost was a worker in Christ's baptism, much more he is worker at our christenings; which proveth him to forgive sins.

God only forgiveth sin:

The Holy Ghost forgiveth sin:

Ergo, the Holy Ghost is God.

"To be called upon," and "prayed unto." The Holy Ghost is to be prayed unto; for what is baptism but an invocation of the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost? As Matth. xxviii. As all three be named, so they all three hear the prayer of the minister, forgive the sins of him which is christened, and make him, of the child of damnation, the heir of salvation.

That we should fastly and firmly believe this workmanship of the whole Trinity in our christenings, that [the?] three persons, every one, were present at Christ's baptizing, who had no need of baptism, I say, but only for our erudition and ensample. The Father notifieth himself in the voice which sounded; the Son, in man's nature; the all-doing Comforter appeared notably in the likeness of a dove. Why in the likeness of a dove, rather than of any other bird, is declared before. Moreover, the Holy Ghost both heareth our prayers, for he is everywhere; and he helpeth our infirmities, as the apostle witnesseth; ergo, he is to be prayed unto. Again, faith is his gift, prophecy is his gift, utterance, miracles, judgment, tongues, healing, be his gifts: and truth, for he is the Spirit of truth; and wisdom, counsel, sanctification, life, by the same reason; and love, joy, peace, patience, gentleness, goodness, fidelity, meekness, temperance, be his graces and fruits, as is proved before; which proveth that he is to be prayed unto. For the scripture useth this reason to move us to pray unto God, that he is the giver of those things that are asked; as the apostle James, saying, "If any of you lack wisdom, let him ask of God which giveth;" and Paul, "He is able to do abundantly above all that we ask or think." And Christ useth the same reason, saying, "Whatsoever ye ask my Father in my name¹, he will give it you." If the papists can shew that St Paul, and the blessed virgin, and other, now being with Christ touching their souls, and in the earth touching their bodies, do now give gifts and graces unto us, truly I would pray unto them to give me some. But who is able to prove this out of the scriptures? The Spirit knoweth all things, yea, the bottom of God's secrets; much more, the bottom of our hearts; ergo, he is to be prayed unto. Doth not he hear our prayers, which commanded to separate Paul and Barnabas unto the work whereunto he had called them?

Paul was called an apostle by God:
 The Holy Ghost called Paul:
 Ergo, the Holy Ghost is God.

Preaching
 is a work.

It is no trifle to preach, but an earnest work and labour;
 [Ask my Father in my name, 1550; ask in my Father's name, 1560.]

and the labourer and workman is worthy of his wages. The work and office of salvation is unrewarded in England, and thought not necessary; which must needs bring in the unclean spirit of ignorance again. Therefore let us pray to the Holy Spirit to amend it, and to separate mo Pauls to this honourable work and office. It is a common saying, *Honos alit artes*, 'Rewards nourish arts;' and magistrates are ordained of God to maintain knowledge, to destroy ignorance and sin. I would wish that preachers were sent abroad into the country, as well as to cities and great towns; for they are the shop of Christ, as well as others: and that, as Christ disputed in the temple, and Stephen with the Libertines and Alexandrines, and Paul, when he went a preaching, disputed in the audience of the people against those that would not hear the truth; at Athens, with philosophers, and at Ephesus, and other places; that so now every preacher, which is known to be groundly learned, and separate to this office, when he cometh to any parish which hath a popish person or curate, that he should have authority to examine them in the sacraments, and other principal matters, and that they either acknowledge the truth before their parishes, or else be compelled to say their conscience and knowledge in open disputation with the preacher; so that the churchwardens of every parish be overseers of the same, for avoiding of tumult and disturbance. By this means papists and others should best be won and overcome; and the people should learn more of one disputation than in ten sermons. Further, if there be any suspected to be an Anabaptist in the said parishes, I would to God well-learned preachers were authorized to compel and call such to render account of their faith before the whole parish; and if it were found anabaptistical, that the preacher enter disputation with him, and openly convict him by the scriptures and elder fathers; and if he remain obstinate, the same preacher to excommunicate him; and then to meddle no further with him, but give knowledge thereof to the temporal magistrates; which, for civil considerations, may punish him with imprisonment, death, or otherwise, as their wisdoms shall judge most meet for a civil quietness and a godly order. Now both papists and Anabaptists complain, that they are put to silence, and the people have more affiance in their silence

Luke ii.
Acts vi.

Acts xvii.

Acts xviii.

than in the preachers, and do think that they could persuade and prove their matters, if they might be suffered. But if this way were taken, it would appear most evident that all their doctrine were builded on the sand, not on the rock. There be many discreet and sober well-learned preachers, both in all the elder fathers and in the scriptures, which, if this way were taken, or another like, would confound all heretics, and beat down papistry, and discourage the best learned of them, and persuade the people after another sort than is done yet. Thus did the apostles; thus did the elder fathers, as Ambrose, Jerome, Augustine, and others; as appeareth of their works, which be either sermons to the people, lessons, homilies, or disputations against heretics.

Now if a preacher come and preach in a parish in the country, if the person, vicar, or curate be of a corrupt judgment, as the most deal be; by reason of the daily company and familiarity that they have with their parish, they do discredit the preacher when he is gone, and mar all that he hath done; which they neither could ne durst justify before his face. Therefore, I would it were remedied this way, or some other. Namely, if they be married men, then they will slander them, rail on them, frump them; yea, some noble and spiritual lords had rather retain¹ idle sodomites and dumb priests to their chaplains, than married preachers. They think it unmeet that such should be colligengers. Nay, it is unmeet that your chaplains should be prebendaries in cathedral colleges, deans, archdeacons, suffragans, and live so idly as they do; and you which keep them be guilty of their negligence, do oppress and rob the people of the word of God, and find your servants of their costs. It is unmeet for the king's chaplains and amners to be absent from these colleges, out of which they have great livings, and to do no good in the country about. It is not unmeet for married priests, present in the colleges, and doing their duties, to have their livings. I would the king's majesty would give his chaplains sufficient wages, and bind them to read a lecture of divinity every day, or thrice a week, in his hall. It were a noble order for a king's house to be a school of divinity, and godly example to all lords spiritual and temporal. Then they should be, as Esay calleth them, true nurses of religion.

Isai. xlix.

[¹ Retain, 1550; receive, 1560.]

If such as be married were allowed their wages and commons to their own houses, and bound by some statutes to preach on holy days in the country about, it were much better than it hath been, or is. And yet, nevertheless, such as be single might keep a common table and a common hall; for all will not marry, no more than they do out of colleges. They should not live idly as they have done, and do; for Paul's rule is, that he which laboureth not, ought not to eat. And St Augustine², in his book entitled *De Opera Monachorum*, crieth out against idle colligeners. Were not this a better reformation than to suppress and put down colleges? O living God, this is a strange kind of surgery, a strange reformation, to sweep things away, to make that private which was common! Well! David saith, that God will make them like to Sisera and Jabin, like unto Ored and Zeb, which have the houses of God in possession; he will root out their generation utterly³. I speak not this of the uni-

Augustine.

Psal. lxxxiii.

Judg. vii.

[² O servi Dei, milites Christi, itane dissimulatis callidissimi hostis insidias, qui bonam famam vestram, tam bonum Christi odorem, ne dicant animæ bonæ, "Post odorem unguentorum tuorum curremus," et sic laqueos ejus evadant, omni modo cupiens obscurare putoribus suis, tam multos hypocritas sub habitu monachorum usquequaque dispersit, circumeuntes provincias, nusquam missos, nusquam fixos, nusquam stantes, nusquam sedentes. Alii membra Martyrum, si tamen Martyrum, venditant; alii fimbrias et phylacteria sua magnificent: alii parentes vel consanguineos suos in illa vel in illa regione se audisse vivere, et ad eos pergere, mentiuntur: et omnes petunt, omnes exigunt aut sumptus lucrosæ egestatis, aut simulatæ pretium sanctitatis: cum interea ubicumque in factis suis malis deprehensi fuerint, vel quoquo modo innotuerint, sub generali nomine monachorum vestrum propositum blasphematur, tam bonum, tam sanctum, quod in Christi nomine cupimus, sicut per alias terras, sic per totam Africam pullulare. Nonne ergo inflammamini zelo Dei? Nonne concalescit cor vestrum intra vos, et in meditatione vestra exardescit ignis, ut istorum mala opera bonis operibus persequamini, ut eis amputetis occasionem turpium nundinarum, quibus existimatio vestra læditur, et infirmis offendiculum ponitur? Miseremini ergo et compatimini, et ostendite hominibus, non vos in otio facilem victum, sed per angustam et arctam viam hujus propositi regnum Dei quærere. Eadem vobis causa est quæ Apostolo fuit, ut amputetis occasionem iis qui quærunt occasionem; ut qui illorum putoribus præfocantur, in odore vestro bono reficiantur. Augustin. de op. Monach. c. 28. Opera vr. 498. Edit. 1679—1700.]

[³ This word is inserted as equivalent to the phrase used by the author.]

versities, but of cathedral colleges, and other, in which be sufficient livings to maintain married men.

But to return to our matter. Like syllogisms may be made of other matters; as, that

God delivered the children of Israel from the Egyptian bondage: Deut. v.

The Holy Ghost was their deliverer: Esay xxx.

Ergo, the Holy Ghost is God.

Peter prayeth to the Holy Spirit.

Acts x.

If we ponder the circumstance diligently, we shall find that Peter prayed unto the Holy Ghost, when he fell into a trance, and saw heaven open, in Simon the tanner's house. He prayeth to him that saith, "What God hath cleansed make thou not common:" for it is written, "There came a voice to Peter, Arise, kill and eat; and he said, God forbid, Lord." But the Holy Ghost is he who cleansed, for he fell suddenly upon the gentiles to cleanse them; and he is called water, and a flood, for the same skill; ergo, he prayed to the Holy Ghost. It is to be supposed that Peter prayed unto him who answereth, and commandeth him in that trance to go to Cornelius; but it is written, that the Spirit commandeth him; ergo, he prayed to the Spirit. Also the Spirit sent Cornelius' servants unto Peter; for he saith unto him, "Go with them, and doubt not; for I have sent them." Wherefore it is probable that Cornelius also prayed unto the Spirit, albeit he knew him not well, for his requests were granted of him.

1 Cor. vi.

Moreover, the holy Comforter hath a temple, not of stone, ne of wood, but far more honourable; the bodies of the elect and chosen, for which Christ died; as it is written, "Your bodies are the temple of the Holy Ghost which is in you, whom ye have of God, and ye are not your own, for ye are dearly bought: therefore glorify God in your bodies." Lo, he both giveth him a temple, and calleth him God; and is he not to be prayed unto and honoured? That the Holy Ghost is the true God, unto whom temples are erected and builded, the Acts of the Apostles declare with plain words. "Ananias," quod Peter, "how is it that Sathan hath filled thine heart to lie unto the Holy Ghost?" and he addeth, "Thou hast not lied unto men, but unto God." Lo, the Holy Ghost is God. So John calleth Christ the true God.

Hic est verus Deus, et vita æterna, "He is very God, and everlasting life." And, seeing there is but one God, the three Persons are that one God, which is only to be prayed unto, to be worshipped, and to whom we should dedicate both the temple of our bodies, and all temples of wood, stone, or other stuff; and to no saints departed, to no angels or archangels, for then we honour them, which is idolatry and robbery.

Temples are
to be dedi-
cate to God
only.

God only hath a temple:
The Holy Ghost hath a temple:
Ergo, the Holy Ghost is God.

"To be honoured." Nothing is to be honoured but God only; for it is written, *Servierunt creaturæ potius quam Creatori, qui est Deus benedictus in secula*, "They worshipped and served the creature more than the Maker, which is God blessed for evermore." He both monisheth us to serve God only, and reproveth such as honour creatures. Now, that the Holy Ghost is to be served and honoured, the same apostle witnesseth, saying: "Beware of dogs, beware of evil workers, beware of dissension; for we are circumcision, serving the Spirit, which is God." Lo, Paul confesseth himself to be the servant of the Spirit. Some do read here, *Spiritu Deum colentes*, "Serving God in spirit;" but the Greek text discusseth that interpretation to be false, which is, οἱ πνεύματι Θεῷ λατρεύοντες, that is to say, "Worshipping the Spirit, which Spirit is God." If Paul had meant, *Quod spiritu Deum colebant*, 'that they in spirit served God,' he would have said, ἐν πνεύματι, as he said in the same place, *καυχώμενοι ἐν Χριστῷ Ἰησοῦ, καὶ οὐκ ἐν σαρκὶ πεποιθότες*, "Rejoicing in Christ, and not trusting in flesh." For, that the Holy Ghost is to be worshipped, he declareth also, saying, "If all do prophesy, and there come in one that believeth not, or one unlearned, he is rebuked of all men, and is judged of every man, and the secrets of his heart are opened, and he falleth down on his face and worshippeth God, saying that God is in you indeed." But he who spake in them was the Holy Ghost, of whom prophecy cometh, and of whom it is written, *Non estis vos qui loquimini, sed Spiritus Patris qui loquitur in vobis*, "It is not you which speak, but the Spirit of my Father which speaketh in you." Wherefore, when they fall down and worship him

Rom. i.

Philip. iii.

1 Cor. xiv.

Matt. x.

Christ's
flesh is to be
worshipped.

Psal. xcix.

Luke i.

Isai. lxvi.

An objec-
tion.
John iv.

The answer.

John xiv.

which is in them, they worship the Holy Ghost. If the sweet flesh of our Saviour Christ be to be honoured, as we are commanded, *Adorate scabellum pedum meorum*, "Worship the footstool of my feet," the which is joined in unity of person to the divine nature, and promoted to the company and fellowship of the Deity; without all doubt the all-knowing Comforter is to be honoured, of whom this flesh was conceived. For by the 'footstool' earth is understand, as it is written, "Heaven is my seat, and the earth is the stool of my feet;" and by the earth Christ's flesh is meant. To worship any other earth is idolatry: and well may his flesh be called so, for all flesh is earth. The Arians deny that the Holy Ghost is to be served, because John writeth, "The hour now is, when true worshippers shall honour the Father in spirit and truth; for such the Father seeketh to worship him. God is a spirit; and they that worship him, must worship him in spirit and in truth." If they deny the Holy Ghost to be honoured, because the evangelist doth not say, 'the Spirit is to be honoured,' but, 'God must be honoured in spirit,' they must deny likewise that Christ is to be honoured, because he saith, 'that God must be worshipped in truth,' for Christ saith, "I am truth."

God only is to be served:

The Holy Ghost is to be served.

Ergo, the Holy Ghost is God.

1 Cor. vi.

Wisd. viii.

"Justifying us:" Paul proveth the Spirit to be a justifier, saying, "Ye are washed, ye are sanctified, ye are justified, by the name of the Lord, and by the spirit of our God." "Almighty:" this belongeth to the Comforter, for he is the finger of God; or else the finger of God is weak: then is some impotency in his hand, in Christ; for whatsoever the hand doth, that doth the finger also. But Salomon calleth the Holy Ghost *παντοδύναμον καὶ παντεπίσκοπον*, that is, *omnipotentem et omniscium*, "almighty and all-knowing." He is the Lord of nature, and therefore he can do what him list; as Christ and the Father can.

God only is almighty:

The Holy Ghost is almighty:

Ergo, the Holy Ghost is God.

These syllogisms and brief arguments may be profitable helps¹ for the unlearned ; as it were with a short dagger to dispatch and slay the blasphemous heresy of the Arians. I could dilate these things into a long volume, if I would ; but my purpose is not at this present to write a defence of God, but an image. I do instruct a beginner, not a divine. I do arm a young soldier to faith and belief ; not an old worn champion to battle and fight. Hereafter, when I shall see occasion, I will put forth a defence, with a confutation and answer to contrary reasons. Now I have proved out of the storehouse of the scripture, that there is but one definition of the Father, of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost : whereof it must needs follow, that they are but one God.

All things that agree in definition, agree in essence and nature :

The Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost, have one definition :

Ergo, they have one essence and nature.

This doctrine destroyeth all the doctrine of the Arians, and proveth them consubstantial. But methink I hear some Patripassian reply, that if they agree in the definition, they are confounded, and are one person. They agree in the definition of God, not in the finition of paternity, or of a Son, or of a Holy Ghost ; for neither Christ is the Father, nor the almighty and all-knowing Comforter is Christ. They be three unconfounded, and yet one God and Lord.

“ O God of our fathers, and Lord of mercies, thou that ^{Wisd. ix.} hast made all things with thy word, and ordained man through thy wisdom, that he should have dominion and lordship over thy creatures which thou hast made ; and hast willed thy angels to minister unto him, that he should order the world according to equity and righteousness, and execute judgment with a true heart ;” give to all thy people wisdom, which is ever about thy seat ; endue them with the spirit of knowledge, of counsel, and understanding ; as thou ^{Isai. xi.} didst promise by thy sweet Son, that he should lead them into all truth : for we are thy servants and thy handmaidens, ^{John xvi.} the works of thy fingers. O send him out of thy holy heavens and from the throne of thy majesty, that he may

[¹ Helps, 1550 ; helpers, 1560.]

govern us, that we may know what is acceptable in thy sight. For he knoweth and understandeth all things, and can lead us soberly in our¹ works, and preserve and continue us in his power: so shall our works be acceptable.

For what man is he that may know the counsel of God? or who can think what the will of God is? The thoughts of mortal men are miserable, and our forecasts are but uncertain. And why? Our understanding and spirit is depressed with the gross lump and dungeon of the corruptible body: our time is but a space, and short; very hardly can we discern the things that are upon earth, and great labour have we or we can find things which are before our eyes. Who will, then², seek out the ground of the things that are done in heaven?

O Lord, who can have knowledge of thy understanding and meaning, except thou give wisdom, and send thy Holy Ghost from above, to reform and redress the ways of them which are upon earth, that men may learn the things that are pleasant unto thee, and to live lovingly one with another, every man being content with his own vocation, and follow the same, be preserved through wisdom³. Grant this, God, for thy Son's sake, Jesus Christ, our spokesman and advocate; to whom, with thee and the Holy Spirit, be all praise, dominion, honour, rule and thanksgiving, now in our days and ever.
So be it.

FINIS.

[¹ In our, 1550; in all our, 1560.]

[² Than, 1550; then, 1560.]

[³ This sentence is printed as it stands in both editions.]

THREE SERMONS

ON

THE LORD'S SUPPER.

A FAITHFUL

DECLARATION OF

Christes holy supper, compre-

hended in thre Sermons

preached at Eaton

Colledge, by Ro-

ger Hutchin-

son. 1552.

Whose contentes are

in the other syde

of the lefe.

¶ Newly imprinted at London by

John Day, dwelling ouer

Aldersgate.

1560.

Cum gratia & priuilegio Regiæ

maiestatis per sep-

tennium.

THE CONTENTS

OF

THE FIRST SERMON.

THE First Sermon sheweth why Christ ordained his supper after the eating of the Paschal lamb: that the Jews' Easter lamb was a figure of our sacramental bread and wine, a commemoration of their deliverance, and a sacrament of Christ's death: that the Jews had some continual rites and sacraments, and other some temporal: how their sacraments and ours, how their receipt and ours, do differ. Why God, who is immutable, disannulled their rites, and ordained new rites and new ceremonies for us. For what cause men absent themselves from Christ's banquet, to the which they should come, not annually, but continually: that, as it is best to come fasting thereto, so it is not evil, by occasion, to receive after meat and drink.

That 'to bless' is not to make a cross upon the sacrament, but to render thanks to God the Father for the remission of our sins through the Seed promised: that Christ ordaineth here no private mass, but a communion: and that the scriptures and the oriental church disallow all private receipt: that, as it is not evil to receive the holy sacrament at thy mouth, so it is better to take it in thy hands, as Christ and his apostles did, and the laity of the primitive Church.

THE CONTENTS

OF

THE SECOND SERMON.

THE Second Sermon declareth what a sacrament is: that the nature and matter of the signs remaineth: that Christ affirmeth bread to be his body, and wine to be his blood, for three properties and similitudes, and not for any transubstantiation and mutation of their natures. That his body and blood are the sustenance of man's soul and spirit, which are not fed or nourished with corporal food. That both the spiritual eating, and the sacramental receipt, are necessary and com-

manded. That by our worthy receipt of the sacrament we are made Christ's body; not by faith only, but also really. What a testament is: what the new testament is, and what the old is. That the old Christians, before Christ's coming, did eat his body and drink his blood, as truly, as really, and as effectually, as we do. How Christ's body and blood be present in his holy supper: that they are not to be honoured, in the form of bread and wine, with elevation of hands, or kneeling; but by faith in them, by coming to his supper, by giving of thanks, and by offering unto him frankincense and myrrh, that is to say, by confessing him to be very natural man, born of his mother after the fulness of time for our redemption, and very God, begotten of his Father before all time: that this is the catholic faith, and the doctrine of the elder fathers of Christ's church.

THE CONTENTS

OF

THE THIRD SERMON.

THE Third Sermon sheweth, that Christ's flesh, which is the bread of life, is never received unworthily, never unto destruction; but always unto salvation, unto righteousness, and justification. That Christ with plain words, and the elder fathers, do affirm the substances of bread and wine to remain after the consecration: how the elder fathers do affirm the natures of the signs to be altered and changed, without any transubstantiation. That Christ's cup ought not to be denied to the laity: that such as come unworthily to God's sacraments be guilty of Christ's body and blood, albeit they receive the only figure and sign thereof. That, after the receipt of the holy sacrament, relapse into sin is dangerous: that we must pass our lifetime thenceforth in prayer and giving of thanks, and go into mount Olivet, that is, seek for heavenly things, and despise earthly things.

THE PRINTER TO THE READER.

FORASMUCH, gentle reader, as all felicity, health, and prosperity of a christian man standeth and consisteth in the perfect knowledge of the true and living God and of himself, which knowledge every faithful man may plentifully and abundantly find in the holy and sacred scriptures, as it were in a most pure and clear glass or mirror, in which all men ought to delight and exercise themselves both day and night, to the amendment of their own lives, and to the edifying of their neighbours; and considering also that there are many in these latter days, (God amend them, and send them better grace!) the which only study with hand and foot, tooth and nail, (and yet would be counted good Christians, when in very deed they are nothing less,) to impugn the truth, and to bury in perpetual oblivie and forgetfulness the monuments, labours, and travails of most worthy men, who refused no pains to advance true religion, and to overthrow the false religion, superstition, and idolatry; I have therefore taken upon me, through God's help, to set forth and bring to light these sermons, which were given unto me by master Roger Hutchinson to put into print, and that a little before the death of the most godly king, king Edward the Sixth. And because immediately after his death God's true religion was overthrown, and trodden most shamefully under foot, by the bloody papists, I was enforced and compelled, not only to surcease from printing of these sermons, but also of divers others', godly men's works. The author of these sermons, lying on his deathbed, whom the Lord took to his mercy, sent to me in my trouble, desiring me, that whensoever Almighty God, of his own mere mercy and goodness, would look no more upon our wretchedness wherewith

we had most justly provoked him unto wrath, but wipe away our sins, and hide them in the precious wounds of his Son Jesus Christ, and turn once again his merciful countenance towards us, and lighten our hearts with the bright beams of his most glorious gospel, that I would not only put these sermons of his in print, but also his other book called 'The Image of God,' the which he himself had newly corrected; declaring, that although God should take him unto his mercy, yet he would leave behind him some little monument of his good heart, mind and will, the which he bore towards the truth of God's holy word, and furtherance and profit of Christ's church: for that divers sectaries were crept in, under the colour and title of true religion, who through the persuasion of the devil hath sowed their devilish seed, as the Arians, Anabaptists, Pelagians, Papists, and divers others: that the flock of Christ's congregation might have some strong armour for the sure defence of themselves, and fit weapons, when they shall have at any time any doing with those sectaries, to the utter overthrowing of them. Therefore, as the author's good will was, through the help of God, in setting forth that book for thy profit; so accept and take it in good part, and give the thanks unto God. And as touching these sermons, judge of them thyself, as God shall give thee grace. Thus fare thou well in him that liveth for ever.

Amen.

The 25 of Sep-
tember.

THE FIRST SERMON

ON THE SUNDAY NEXT BEFORE EASTER.

The sum of the Gospel.

THE gospel of this day¹, well beloved in the Lord, containeth a narration of such things as our master Christ did, immediately before he was, through the covetousness of Judas, and envy of his own nation, betrayed unto death. It is a long process, as you have heard, worthy of perpetual remembrance, and a worthy matter to be declared to all men and women. For it setteth forth plainly afore our eyes, as it were in a scaffold, the Seed promised, which by many dark riddles and figures is signified and shadowed in Moses and the prophets; and containeth the benevolence, the loving kindness, the great tender mercy and good will of God the Father, who so loved us, that for our honour he suffered his honourable and only-begotten child to be dishonoured and oppressed of malicious and covetous men. And that so noble and worthy a benefit should not fall out of remembrance, which is the alone author of our redemption, and our only comfort against sin, that we should reserve this his loving kindness in continual memory, and not be unthankful, he hath commanded us, by the mouth of Christ our Lord, to celebrate a commemoration of his favour and clemency, of his Son's dishonour and death, and to resort unto the holy sacrament of the same, that is, of Christ's honourable body and blood.

Because this matter is so long, that it cannot be worthily declared in one hour, nor twain; and forasmuch as many be yet ignorant of the fruit, of the use and cause, of the mary and sweetness of the Lord's supper, and know not what it meaneth, nor what a sacrament is; and Easter now draweth nigh, at which time all men and women dispose themselves to come to Christ's banquet, as I would wish they would also as well at other times, and so some do whose prayers God doth not forget; yet, because the most part will not come but at the aforesaid feast, therefore, and also forasmuch as it

[¹ Matt. xxvi. xxvii. vide Two-books of Common Prayer, temp. Edw. VI. Ed. Cardwell, 1841. p. 103.]

is a member and parcel of the gospel of this Sunday before Easter, I thought it good to speak now of this matter, which is an abridgement of the whole scripture, as well for the erudition of those that be unlearned, as also that such as be stubbornly wedded to their own judgments and are hardened against the truth, may not excuse themselves by ignorance, when, to render an account of their faiths, they shall be cited to appear at the bar before the divine majesty. But that you may the better impress in your hearts, and carry away, that which I shall speak hereof, I will rehearse unto you that part and member of this gospel which comprehendeth Christ's supper.

Whiles they were eating, Jesus took bread; and when he had given thanks, he brake it, and gave it to the disciples, and said: Take, eat, this is my body. And he took the cup, and thanked, and gave it them, saying: Drink of it every one; for this is my blood of the new testament shed for many to the forgiveness of sins. I say unto you, I will not drink henceforth of this fruit of the vine, till that day when I shall drink it new with you in my Father's kingdom. And when they had given praises, they went out into mount Olivet.

Luke xxii.
Mark xiv.
1 Cor. xi.

John vi.

This matter is declared, how we do receive Christ's body and blood in the sensible sacrament of bread and wine; and also, without the sacrament, is shewed in the sixth chapter of St John's gospel. That I may speak hereof to the promotion of God's glory, and find out such lessons and such doctrine in the text, which may be to your instruction and edifying, which be assembled here to serve God in prayer and hearing his word, let us ask God's help and Spirit, for the which I shall desire you to say the Lord's prayer after me: "Our Father," &c.

This gospel, well beloved in the Lord, is full of spiritual erudition and heavenly comfort. It hath as many good lessons and fruitful matters as words; yea, and as many heresies be gathered of the words thereof as good lessons, as shall be declared. Lest, through plenty of matter, I be overlong and tedious, I will overrun it in order as the text leadeth, speaking much or little of every sentence, as I shall see needful for your instruction; desiring you not to look for a learned and profound declaration, but only for a plain exposition and a faithful confession of the catholic faith.

First, and in the beginning of the supper, in that the

text saith, "Whiles they were eating, Jesus took the bread;" of this we may learn, that Christ and his disciples did celebrate this sacrament of his honourable body and blood, not after the present use and manner of the congregation, but after other meats and drinks. First he did eat his passover and Easter lamb with his disciples, after the custom of the old testament, which passover and Easter lamb was a figure and shadow of our sacramental bread and wine. For as they of the old law did eat yearly an Easter lamb, in remembrance of their deliverance from Egypt and from the expression of Pharaoh; so we of the new testament do receive sacramental bread and wine, in remembrance of Christ's death and passion, through which we are delivered from the Egypt of sin, from the gates of hell, and from the power of the devil. And as the paschal lamb was ordained and eaten the night before the children of Israel were delivered from Egypt; so likewise this sacrament was ordained and eaten the night before we were delivered from our sins. And as when the Israelites were escaped out of Egypt, they did eat nevertheless the paschal lamb, which was called still 'the passing by,' or their 'passover and passport,' because it was a remembrance of their passage out of Egypt; and they eating the same heartily rejoiced, offering him sacrifice, and acknowledging with infinite thanks that they were the fellowship of them that had such a merciful God; so we, now being delivered from sin, do eat nevertheless the sacrament, which is still called his body that once died for our deliverance; and we heartily rejoice, offering to him the sacrifice of praise, acknowledging with infinite thanks, that we are of the fellowship of them which have such a merciful and mighty God through Christ. And their lamb was a sacrament, not only of their deliverance out of Egypt, but also it was a sacrament of Christ to come, that he through death should deliver both the Jews and all other men from the tyranny and bondage of Satan; as John the Christener taught the Jews, saying, *Ecce agnus Dei, qui tollit peccata mundi*, "Behold the lamb of God, which taketh away the sins of the world." He nameth Christ 'a lamb;' instructing us that their passover was a figure of his death and passion. And Paul confirmeth the same, saying, *Pascha nostrum immolatus est Christus*, "Christ our paschal lamb is offered up for us." Of these

Why Christ
ordained his
supper after
the eating of
the lamb.

Their lamb
was a figure
of our sacra-
ment.

Of their de-
liverance.

Of Christ.

John i.

1 Cor. v.

texts and similitudes we may gather, that their passover was not only a figure and shadow of Christ's death, but also the same unto them that our sacramental bread and wine is to us. And when they did eat their lamb, such as believed on Christ to come, and were by faith Christians, did eat spiritually his flesh, and drink his blood, as truly, as really, and as effectually, as we do eat it now which be of the new testament; as shall be proved more plainly hereafter.

How our
sacraments
and theirs
do differ.

Continual
and tem-
poral sacra-
ments.

Here is the difference and diversity between their eating and ours: a lamb was their sacrament, and so was the rock of which they drank in the wilderness; so was manna also; for they had many sacraments in which they did receive Christ's body and blood. And some of their sacraments were continual, and other some were temporal. Their Easter lamb was a continual sacrament, from the time of their deliverance out of Egypt until Christ's death. Manna also, and the rock, were sacraments thereof; but because they continued but for a time and in one age, they were but temporal sacraments. We of the new law have not many sacraments hereof, but only one sacrament of bread and wine in the place and stead of their Easter lamb; as appeareth of the similitudes afore rehearsed, and also of the institution of Christ's supper. For the text saith, that "whiles they were eating, Jesus took bread and the cup;" that is, immediately after that he had finished the ceremony of the passover, he ordained his last supper; instructing us hereby, that bread and wine be unto us of the new testament the same in effect, in use, and operation, that the aforesaid lamb was to the old Christians which were before the coming of the Seed promised.

Why God
hath disan-
nulled the
rites of the
old law.

Mal. iii.

Here, percase, you will reply, and say: If in the ceremony of the Easter lamb they of the old law did eat Christ's flesh and drink his blood, why is this ceremony now abrogated and disannulled? Why have we a new sacrament of bread and wine? Is it convenient for the divine majesty, which is immutable, to make orders and laws, and to alter and change them again, as men do? I answer: They were under the law, we are under grace; they were under the old testament, we are heirs of the new testament. And because our law and theirs, our testament and theirs, our priesthood and theirs, be divers and different, therefore we

have divers sacraments from them, both of Christ's body and blood, and also of other things. They had manna, and a rock, and an Easter lamb; we have only bread and wine. They had circumcision for a continual sacrament, and the Red sea, and the cloud that went before them out of Egypt, for temporal sacraments: we have, instead of these, one continual sacrament, the laver of regeneration. Neither can any mutability be laid unto God, who is immutable, for this mutation of orders and sacraments; no more than to the husbandman, which commandeth his servants to apply other business in winter, and other things in summer or springtide. This universal world is God's house, God's mansion and palace. They of the old law were his servants, and we be his children and sons through Christ. Now, every householder commandeth other things to his servants, and other things to his children. And a king doth not govern his realm with one sort of laws and statutes; but maketh positive laws for every time and every purpose, as occasion is ministered: and so doth God. St Paul declareth this diversity and policy of Almighty God very well, where he saith, *Lex pædagogus est ad Christum*, that is, "The law Gal. iii. was a schoolmaster unto Christ." But faith being come, we are no longer under a schoolmaster. A good schoolmaster doth not use one trade in teaching, nor one book, but divers trades and divers books, as his scholars increase in learning. The physician doth not cure all diseases with one medicine. So the eternal God ordained divers sacraments, divers rites and ceremonies, in divers times and ages, because of the divers conditions and natures of men. The sacraments of the old law did shadow, figure, and preach Christ to come: our sacraments do shew him, as it were upon a scaffold, already come unto our eyes. Therefore it was convenient that their orders and ours should be divers, lest, if their orders did remain still, it might give some occasion to heretics to deny that Christ is yet come. Many other causes might be rehearsed of this mutation of sacraments, which be not so necessary now to be spoken of. Therefore I will omit them, and proceed to other matters.

Albeit the Easter lamb of the Jews, which yearly was slain and eaten in remembrance of their deliverance from Egypt, and in hope of the coming of Christ, whom St John

and Paul do name our Easter lamb; albeit, I say, their sacrament were a figure of our bread and wine, yet we may not gather hereof that the holy communion of Christ's honourable body and blood is to be resorted unto but once a year, because they had but a yearly lamb and an annual remembrance, and that always at the feast of Easter; as some bishops of Rome have taught in times past, which would have the laity of every realm to have but an annual communion, that is, but once a year; and as many appear to be persuaded yet, but vainly and wickedly. For this is the common fashion of the most part of men and women: all the year long they absent themselves from God's table.

Why men
absent
themselves
from
Christ's
table.

Ecclus. xxi.

Zech. v.

Psal.
xxxviii.

And why? because they are loath to be pained with the remembrance of their sins, and with the consideration of their offences. The remembrance of our offences maketh us heavy and sorrowful, depriveth us of all mirth, bringeth us into sadness, and maketh us tremble for fear of God's displeasure. Therefore Jesus the son of Sirach saith, *Dentes leonis dentes ejus*, "Sin hath teeth like unto a lion." And the Prophet Zachary compareth it to lead. David he nameth it a burden, saying: "Mine iniquity is over my head, and doth press me down with a grievous burden." Because, I say, they will not feel this burden, and because they desire to live merely in the pleasures of the flesh, in drunkenness, in whoredom, in gluttony, in feasting and banquetting, in oppression of their neighbours, in covetousness, in unrighteous dealing, all the year long; therefore they will take no remorse, no penance, no remembrance of their sins, but once a year. 'What need I,' saith the carnal man to his own heart within himself, 'what need I to trouble myself with fear of God's displeasure, with the memory of my sins, with the remembrance of hell, of death, of the devil, every week or every month? How can a man be merry, and think always of death and hell? No: I will take my pleasure; I will laugh, and be merry all the year; I will do what me list, and at Easter I will repent. Then I will come to the Lord's table, but not before.' Examine thine own thoughts, thou oppressor, thou drunkard, thou whorekeeper, thou flatterer, and enter into your own hearts: you shall find this to be the cause of your long absence, and of your seldom coming to the Lord's banquet. For as he that hath a hungry and a

greedy stomach to his meat, declareth hereby his body to be void of all corruption, and that he is in good and perfect health; so I say unto you, to observe an annual communion is a token of an unrighteous man, of a stubborn servant, of an unquiet woman; and to come often is a token of one which striveth against his flesh, which keepeth battle with the devil, and laboureth daily to live godly and blameless. For here we remember Christ's death and passion: the remembrance of Christ's death maketh us to remember our own offences and sins; for he died not for himself, but for our iniquities and misdeeds. The remembrance of our offences wrappeth us in sorrow and heaviness. Sorrow and heaviness do cause us to fly unto God for his help and mercy, as it is written: "In trouble I cried to thee, who embraceth us like a loving Father." For as sorrow and heaviness entered first into this world for sin, and for the guilt of Adam's disobedience; so the same now doth expel sin again, and lead us into virtue, as Paul teacheth: *Tristitia secundum Deum operatur pœnitentiam in salutem*, "Godly sorrow," saith Paul, "causeth repentance unto salvation."

Psal. cxviii.

Gen. iii.

2 Cor. vii.

Moreover, in that the text saith, that "whiles they were eating, Jesus took bread" and ordained his last supper, some do reason hereof, that the sacrament is not to be received fasting, as the custom now is, but after other meats and drinks, after a certain refection, banquet, or maundy; which, they say, those that be rich should make, to refresh the poor and needy. For the defence of this maundy they allege not only Christ's example, but also where it is written, that the Corinthians indeed kept such a maundy. But Paul reprehendeth them therefore, and disannulleth their custom as an occasion of gluttony, of drunkenness, of pride, of contention, and other misbehaviour in the church, saying unto them: "Have ye not houses to eat and drink in? or else despise ye the congregation of God?" And again: "If any man hunger, let him eat at home; that ye come not together unto condemnation." Nor Christ did not celebrate this sacrament after other meats and drinks, to stablish any such custom, nor to give us any example to do the like; but rather to teach us, that our sacramental bread is succeeded instead of the Jews' Easter lamb, and that their ceremony is now disannulled and abrogated. Therefore the universal

It is best to come to Christ's banquet fasting.

1 Cor. xi.

Matt. xxii.

1 Cor. xi.

church commonly, according to Paul's mind to the Corinthians, useth now to celebrate the Lord's supper fasting, without any maundy, and not after other meats. Notwithstanding, as he doth well which cometh fasting to the Lord's table, so he doth not ill which, by occasion, cometh after that he hath eaten and drunk. Meat and drink do not defile, do not make a man an unmeet guest for Christ's board, for the marriage-dinner of the king's son; but lack of the wedding garment, that is, sin and iniquity. There is no commandment in the scriptures which restraineth those that have eaten from the communion. Paul reproveth not the Corinthians for any such thing; but because they made maundies and banquets in the house of prayer. In their own houses he doth not forbid them to eat and drink before the communion, but permitteth it, and leaveth them to their own liberty and necessity herein, saying: "If any man hunger, let him eat at home."

I touch this matter partly through occasion of the text; and partly also to reform those, if they will be reclaimed, which for lack of knowledge or [are] offended with those that come after meat through some necessity; which offence cometh of a good zeal and of a good intent; but good intents must be reformed according to knowledge. And, percase, some will be offended with me for uttering this matter. Be not offended with truth, be not deceived nor bewitched with superstition and blind zeal; but consider my words indifferently, or rather not my words, but the words of Chrysostom, a learned and an elder father of Christ's church, who saith a great deal more in this matter than I have said; whose saying moved me also at this time to touch this matter. For unless he or some other learned man did affirm it, I would not teach it. He, in his ninth homily *ad populum Antiochenum*, is earnest against those which withdraw them from the communion many times, because they were not fasting; and he exhorteth them to come otherwhiles after meat, saying: *Si tibi persuaseris, quod post cibum et potum, et ad σύναξιν convenire necesse est, omnino et invitus multam geres curam modestiæ, et neque in ebrietatem neque in crapulam umquam deducers. Cura enim et expectatio in ecclesia conveniendi cum honesta mensura cibum et potum sumere docet, ne ingressus et fratribus commixtus, postea*

Chrysost.
Homil. ix.
ad popul.
Antioch.

*vinum redolens, et inordinate eructans, ab omnibus præsentibus deridearis*¹. Which words be thus much to say, 'If thou determine with thyself to come otherwhiles to the communion, after thou hast eat and drunk, by this means thou shalt learn to be modest and sober in thy behaviour, thou shalt never offend in drunkenness, nor defile thyself with gluttony; but, remembering God's table, thou wilt take meat and drink with moderation, lest coming to the church, if thou smell of wine, or belch inordinately through the fulness of your stomach, thou be a laughing-stock to all that shall see thee in that taking.'

Whensoever thou art godly affected, whensoever thou hast remorse for thy sins, with an earnest intent of amendment and reformation of thy living, be not afraid to come to Christ's banquet, to the marriage-dinner of the king's son, whether thou hast eaten and drunk, or art fasting. Be afraid, if thou, being an officer or magistrate, dost devise evil statutes, either ecclesiastical or temporal, contrary to the statutes of the eternal God; or if thou dost make unlawful grants, and give dispensations, licenses, and cockets, to carry wool, leather, corn, or other wares over the sea; enpoverishing many thousands to enrich thyself and few others. Be afraid, if thou be a tailor, and dost steal part of their cloth (which Tailors. cost them dear) from thy customers, making them believe that no less than three yards will serve their turn, when two yards be sufficient. Be afraid to come, if thou keep a draper's or an haberdasher's or poticary's shop, and dost Drapers. Poticaries. oppress thy brethren by taking immoderate and unreasonable gains; if thou be a husbandman, and wilt not store markets Husbandmen. and fairs, neither with grain, nor with cattle, which is thy vocation and calling; if thou be a butcher, and wilt not sell Butchers. thy beeves, muttons, and veals, at the king's price, or for

[¹ "Όταν γάρ ης σαντόν πεπεικώς, ότι μετά τò φαγεῖν καί πιεῖν ἀνάγκη καί πρòς σύναξιν ἀπαντῆσαι, πάντως καί ἄκων πολλάκις ἐπιμελήσῃ τῆς σωφροσύνης, καί οὔτε εἰς μέθην οὔτε εἰς ἀδηφαγίαν κατενεχθήσῃ ποτέ· ἡ γὰρ φροντίς καί ἡ προσδοκία τῆς εἰς τὴν ἐκκλησίαν ἀφίξεως παιδεύει μετὰ τῆς προσηκούσης εὐκοσμίας καί τροφῆς καί ποτοῦ μεταλαμβάνειν· ἵνα μὴ εἰσελθὼν καί τοῖς ἀδελφοῖς ἀναμιχθεὶς, εἶτα ἀποπνέων οἴνου καί ἐρευγόμενος ἀτάκτως, καταγελασθῇς παρὰ τῶν παρόντων ἀπάντων. Chrysostom. Opera ii. 97. Edit. Paris. 1718—1738.]

Bakers.

Pastors.

Who is a
slanderer.

Flattery.

Isai. v.

Matt. v.

reasonable vantage, but killest them without effusion and letting forth the blood, that they may weigh more, to the poisoning of the eaters ; if thou be a baker, and dost break the king's assize and statute, hurting many to benefit thyself. If thou be a person, having cure of soul, and yet dost nothing therefore, but feed thine own body and live idly ; and dost not only not preach thyself, but also, when other preach to thy parishioners, thou defacest them behind their backs, and dost discredit them as much as lieth in thee ; (as I know one was defaced not long ago, which preached wholesome and fruitful doctrine, even in this place ;) if, I say, thou be such a one, presume not to come to Christ's banquet, lest in his stead Sathan enter into thee, as he did into Judas, and you be expelled into utter darkness. Presume not to come without thy wedding-garment, without a renewed heart, in malice and out of charity, in sin and iniquity. Be afraid, if thou be an extortioner, an oppressor of others for thine own commodity ; if thou be a flatterer, a pickthank, a talebearer, a spy, or an instrument unto oppression and iniquity ; if thou be a sower of debate, strife, and variance ; if thou be a slanderer, that is, an ill-speaker of good men. For it is lawful to say that an evil man is an evil man, and that an oppressor is an oppressor ; if thou hast admonished him, and he not amend, this is no slander. Yea, I say unto you, that it is flattery, it is grievous sin, to speak well of such an evil man ; for it is sin to lie on the devil, according to the common saying. "Woe worth them," saith the prophet Esay, "that call evil good, and good evil ; which maketh darkness light, and light darkness ; that maketh sour sweet, and sweet sour : woe be unto them !" We must bless evil men, that is, pray for their amendment and reformation : so Christ's commandment is to be taken, which he gave his disciples, *προσεύχασθε ὑπὲρ τῶν ἐπηρεάζοντων ὑμᾶς*, "Bless them that curse you," that is, "Pray for them : " for they corrupt the text which turn it, "Speak well of them ; " unless they expound 'well-speaking,' to be prayer to God for their conversion. We may not speak well of them which be notable evil ; for we may not lie, we may not flatter, lest that curse of the prophet fall upon us, which saith, "Woe be to you that call evil good," &c. Therefore let us say the truth of such evil men, that shame and report may cause

them to amend, and that other may be afraid to commit the same faults and to follow their ungracious example. If we praise evil men, besides that we lie, we encourage other to follow them; we embolden them to go forward in wickedness and to rejoice in sin; we do break God's commandment, which saith, *Non dices falsum testimonium*, "Thou shalt be no false witness." But of this in anywise beware, that thou do not report evil of those which be godly. For as the other is flattery and lying, so this is slander and railing, and against the aforesaid precept. And the prophet also crieth: "Woe unto such that call good evil, and light darkness, and sweet sour."

Exod. xx.
Deut. v.

Isai. v.

Before thou comest to God's board, examine and try thyself, whether thou be guilty of any of these things afore rehearsed; of oppression, of flattery, of malice, of slander, of lying, of envy, of bait-making. Follow the counsel of St Paul; judge thyself that thou be not judged of the Lord. And as householders and masters of colleges do call their stewards and bowsters to an account and audit, to know what they have received, and what they have expended and laid forth for every thing, what is not received, and what remaineth still in their hands; so do thou make thyself a judge over thine own conscience; call thy soul to give an account of all his thoughts; call thine eyes to a reckoning for all their wanton and unchaste looks; examine thine ears, whether they have been corrupted with flattery, with detraction, or with evil counsel; call thy hands to account for covetously taking that which was not thine; ask account and a reckoning of thy tongue, what oaths, what slanders, what brags, what bawdry, what evil counsel, what heresy, and what pestiferous doctrine he hath sowed and uttered. For if thou do not prove and examine thyself, according to Paul's counsel, but come with a defiled conscience to God's board, thou dost not eat Christ's body, which is the bread of life, and is received only unto health and salvation; but thou dost eat *panem mortis*, 'the bread of death,' the bread of judgment, the bread of damnation; and art guilty, as Paul saith, "of the body and blood of Christ," because thou dost abuse, defile, and despise the sacrament thereof.

1 Cor. xi.

But to return to the text: St Matthew writeth, that our Saviour Christ gave thanks, and that, "after thanks rendered,"

Luke xxii.

Mark xiv.

'To bless,'
is not to
make a
cross.

1 Cor. x.

Mark xiv.

he brake bread and distributed it to his disciples : whereas Matthew and Luke say, that "he gave thanks," Mark hath these words, "He took bread, and blessed, and brake it."

Here we say, that 'to bless' is to give thanks to God for all his innumerable benefits, and namely for our redemption through Christ. No, saith the papist; 'to bless' is to make a sign of the cross on the sacrament. And to defend this interpretation they allege St Paul's authority, who saith, "Is not the cup of blessing, which we bless, partaking of the blood of Christ?" I answer: the Greek word, in these two texts which they allege for their crossing, is *εὐλογία*: which word cannot signify 'to cross.' For whereas Paul termeth it, "the cup of blessing which we bless," the Greek is, *τὸ ποτήριον τῆς εὐλογίας ὃ εὐλογοῦμεν*. And for the English, "he blessed and brake the bread," Mark saith in the Greek tongue, in which he wrote his gospel, *λαβὼν ἄρτον εὐλογήσας ἐκλάσε*: which word, I say, cannot signify 'to make a sign of the cross.' For the Greeks never used it in such signification; and the oriental and Greek church never took it so: neither do we read that the Greek church used ever any such gesture upon the sacrament. Then, what is the meaning of these words, "he blessed and brake the bread?"

You shall understand, that 'to bless' is a word of many significations, and many times used in the scriptures. And yet throughout the whole bible it doth never signify, 'to make a sign of the cross.' I do not mean nor affirm, that it is evil to make a cross on thy forehead; but to teach that Christ crossed the sacrament, and to defend crossing to be a necessary ceremony to be used at the distribution of Christ's supper, this is papistical leaven, superstitious doctrine, and to make the scriptures a nose of wax, a tennis-ball, and to wrest them to every purpose. 'To bless,' here, is to give thanks to God the Father for his merciful beholding of our misery, for pardoning Adam's disobedience, and for sending his Son to be born of a woman, to grind and break in sunder the serpent's head; that is, to destroy the power of the devil through death, through his cross, and by the effusion and shedding of his blood. And the cup of blessing, of which Paul speaketh, is as much to say as, the cup of thanksgiving; for he expoundeth it even so in

the next chapter himself. And whereas Mark saith that Christ 'blessed,' Matthew and Luke say, expounding one another, that he 'gave thanks.' For this use, intent, and purpose this sacrament was chiefly and principally ordained; that we should not forget the great clemency and special favour of the eternal God, for the death and passion of Christ our Lord, but reserve this his benefit in continual memory. And therefore many of the elder fathers do name this holy sacrament *εὐλογία*, or *εὐχαριστία*, that is, 'a rendering of praise,' and 'a thanksgiving.'

It followeth in the text, how, after that Christ had given thanks, "that he brake the bread, and gave it to his disciples, and bade them take and eat it. And he took the cup likewise, and gave it them, saying, Drink of it, every one:" or, as Luke saith, "He took the cup, and said, *Accipite, et dividite inter vos*, Take this and divide it among you." Christ our master doth not receive this holy sacrament alone, but with his disciples. Neither do we read in all the new testament that ever any received it privately, or severally from others. The Acts of the Apostles testify, that they which believed resorted together oftentimes to celebrate this sacrament. But they do not speak of any private receipt; for Christ ordaineth here no private mass, but a communion. Let us follow his example, and celebrate Christ's supper, not as our forefathers have done many years and of long time; but as Christ, who is before all time and all years, did celebrate it first, and as his disciples did use it in the primitive and apostolic church.

Christ ordaineth here a communion, not a private mass. Acts ii.

You will say, there hath been a custom contrary many years: and I have heard some say, that when the devotion of the laity and temporality waxed cold, that the apostles and their successors gave liberty to ministers to receive it alone. I answer, this custom begun but of late days, and not many years ago. For, as chronicles do make plain and evident relation, Gregory¹, surnamed the great, the first bishop of Rome of that name, was the first founder of private masses, who was Anno Domini 595. Almost for the space of six hundred years there was no private receipt.

An objection.

The answer.

Gregorius magnus.

[¹ Fecit inter alia beatus papa Gregorius, ut in ecclesiis sanctorum apostolorum Petri et Pauli super corpora eorum missæ celebrarentur. Bedæ, Hist. Eccles. lib. ii. c. 1. p. 95. Edit. 1838.]

The East
church.

Moreover, this is most certain and true, that the oriental church never unto this day did allow or use private masses; as appeareth plainly of the name which they give to this sacrament; for they call it *σύναξις*, that is, a communion, or a coming and assemble together of many in one place. And

Pliny.

for an evident proof of this, you shall understand that Pliny¹, he that was *Proconsul Bithyniæ*, that is, governor and captain of Bithynia, in the time of that wise emperor Trajan, this Pliny, I say, in a certain epistle which he writeth to the foresaid emperor, *De ritu Christianorum*, Of the rites and fashions of the Christians, is a witness hereof, that the Greeks in his time had a communion, and no private masses. And other learned writers do credibly report, that certain churches of the Venetians, within this thirty years and less, did not celebrate the Lord's supper alone, or any man privately by himself: and it may well be that they do so still at this day. Of these it is evident, that private masses be not of so ancient and long continuance, or so universally received, as the papists do face and brag the matter, after their accustomed sort.

The
Venetians.

An ob-
jection.

But you will go further with me and say: If the laity will receive, they may, for they were never restrained; but if they will not, thinking themselves unworthy to receive it often themselves, why may not the priest receive it alone for

The answer.

them? We may pray one for another, so we are exhorted to do; but no man may receive the sacrament for others, but for himself only. That which thou receivest, thou receivest by thine own faith, and for spiritual food to thine own soul, and not to others. For it is written, *Justus ex fide sua vivet*, "The righteous man shall live by faith;" by his own faith, and not by another man's faith, nor by another's receipt. And as no man hath nourishment or sustenance of the meat which another doth eat, so this spiritual food doth profit only such as take and eat it themselves according to

Habak. ii.
Rom. i.
Heb. x.

[¹ Affirmabant autem, hanc fuisse summam vel culpæ suæ vel erroris, quod essent soliti stato die ante lucem convenire, carmenque Christo quasi Deo dicere secum invicem: seque sacramento non in scelus aliquod obstringere, sed ne furta, ne latrocinia, ne adulteria committerent, ne fidem fallerent, ne depositum appellati abnegarent: quibus peractis morem sibi discedendi fuisse, rursusque coeundi ad capiendum cibum, promiscuum tamen et innoxium. Plin. Epist. Lib. x. Epist. 97.]

Christ's precept. They be not edified nor refreshed with another man's spirit, with another man's faith or receipt, no more than they be regenerate and renewed with the baptism of others. For if it be true that Paul saith, *Qui enim manducat et bibit indigne, judicium sibi manducat et bibit*, that is, "He that eateth and drinketh unworthily, eateth¹ and drinketh to his own condemnation," and not to any other man's condemnation; ergo, he that eateth and drinketh worthily, eateth but to his own health and salvation, and not to the health and profit of others. The benefit, the fruit, and the whole commodity of this sacrament dependeth upon the promises which Christ hath annexed to it; which promises be pronounced only to those that come to his supper themselves; as these promises, "Whosoever eateth my flesh^{John vi.} and drinketh my blood hath eternal life:" "I will raise him up," saith Christ, "at the last day:" and, "he dwelleth in God, and God in him." These promises, I say, be not made to thee, unless thou come to God's table thyself; another man's receipt doth nothing profit or edify thee. Therefore Paul unto the Corinthians, after that he restraineth them¹ from making any banquet or refection before this supper, afterward, speaking of this sacrament, he commandeth both priests and others not to receive one for another, but one to tarry for another, saying, *Alius alium expectate, cum convenitis ad manducandum*, "Tarry," saith Paul, "one for another, when ye come together to eat." He speaketh these words of Christ's supper; for he forbiddeth the Corinthians in the same chapter to eat any other meat in the house of prayer than bread and wine in commemoration of the death of Christ. Ambrose, a learned and holy father of Christ's^{St Ambrose.} church, doth so construe and take this text, disallowing and reproving all private receipt; and also Theophylact². For^{Theophylact.} Ambrose saith upon this text³: *Ad invicem expectandum est, ut multorum oblatio simul celebretur, et ut omnibus ministretur*;

[² "Ὡστε, ἀδελφοί μου, συνερχόμενοι εἰς τὸ φαγεῖν, ἀλλήλους ἐκδέχεσθε. Αὐθις εἰς τὸν περὶ τῶν πενήτων ἦλθε λόγος, μεθ' ὃ ἐμνήσθη κολάσεων καὶ θανάτων. Καὶ οὐκ εἶπεν, ἀλλήλοις μετὰδοτε, ἀλλ', ἐκδέχεσθε· δεικνύων ὅτι κοινὰ εἰσι τὰ ἐκεῖσε εἰσφερόμενά, καὶ δεῖ ἀναμένειν τὴν κοινὴν συνέλευσιν. Theophylact, ii. 193. Edit. Venet. 1754—63.]

[³ Ambrosii Opera, ii. 150. Edit. Paris. 1686—1690, in appendice.]

that is to say, 'We must tarry for others, that many may offer up thanks and praises, and that all the congregation may receive.' Thanks be unto God, that we have Christ's supper in that fashion and manner which he himself observed. Yet because all men be not persuaded, and some do murmur and grudge at this godly reformation, and of a stubbornness absent themselves from the holy communion, and would fly back into Egypt again to hear masses, as they were wont to do, I thought it necessary to touch this matter, to reform their judgments, if they will be reclaimed.

The elevation.

What word of God, what authority of scriptures, can be alleged for private masses? Or who is able to shew that ever any of the apostles, any holy man in the primitive church, or any of the elder fathers before Pope Gregory, did celebrate privately? If there be neither example of any holy man, nor no authority, no text, no testimony of the scripture to maintain them, let us conclude that it is but a dream and fantasy of man, submitting our judgments to God's book. Moreover, as Christ did not ordain his supper to be received privately for benefactors either dead or alive, or for others, no more did he elevate and lift up the sacrament over his head, to be seen and worshipped of his disciples. He gave it them into their hands to eat, and not to honour it; to receive it, and not to worship it with holding up of their hands and knocks on their breasts. Only God is to be honoured with this kind of reverence, and no sacrament; for God is not a sacrament, neither is the sacrament God. What a sacrament is, is too long a matter to entreat now, because I will not weary you; I will defer this point unto the next sermon. Then I will shew you also how Christ's body is in the holy sacrament, and proceed further into the text.

It is best to take the sacrament into our hands.

Concil.
Rotomag.

Let us use it as Christ and his apostles did. If thou wilt be more devout than they were, be not deceived, but beware that thy devotion be not idolatry. Christ gave it them into their hands, not into their mouths. Neither be thou afraid to take and handle it with thy hands, as they did. Consider not how it hath been used in times past. The council holden at Rotomage did first forbid men to take it in their hands. Regard more Christ's example, and the example of his disciples and of the primitive church, which

always did take it into their hands, than the late example of our forefathers. But thou wilt say, the King's Book, made by the learned clergy and wise men of this realm according to God's word, and confirmed by most high authority of the lords and commons of the parliament, commandeth me to receive the holy sacrament at the priest's hands into my mouth¹. As the apostles commanded all christian men and women to abstain from blood, and from strangled meats, to bear with those that were weak and for other certain considerations, which commandment St Paul afterward dissannulleth, professing no meat to be unclean, and licensing them to eat both blood and strangled, which license they embraced willingly and obediently; and as they of the primitive church commanded the people to receive it at their mouths, because some receiving it in their hands did convey away the sacrament secretly, to abuse it to superstition and magical uses; so the king commandeth the same indeed for like considerations, for a time and season, for an uniformity, and to bear with thy infirmity and weakness, until thou shalt have more knowledge by reading and hearing God's sacred word, and until thou shalt be grown a strong and a perfect

Acts xv.

Rom. xiv.
Tit. i.

[¹ This passage does not refer to the work entitled "A Necessary Doctrine and Erudicion for any Christen Man," published in 1543, which was called The King's Book, in contradistinction to "The Institution of a Christen Man," published in 1537, and commonly known as The Bishop's Book; but to the first Book of Common Prayer in English, brought into use in 1549, under the authority of the act of the 2nd and 3rd Edward VI., cap. i. (Auth. Ed. of Stats. iv. 36). A rubric in that book is in the following words: "And although it be read in ancient writers that the people many years past received at the priest's hands the sacrament of the body of Christ in their own hands, and no commandment of Christ to the contrary; yet forasmuch as they many times conveyed the same away, kept it with them, and diversely abused it to superstition and wickedness; lest any thing such hereafter should be attempted, and that an uniformity might be used throughout the whole realm, it is thought convenient the people commonly receive the sacrament of Christ's body in their mouths at the priest's hand." In the second Book of Common Prayer, set forth in 1552, the rubric just quoted was omitted, and the mode of delivering the bread to communicants altered, by adding to a former rubric, in which the priest was directed to give the bread "to the people," these words, "in their hands kneeling." Vide Dr Cardwell's Two Books of Com. Prayer, pp. 303, 308, 316. Edit. 1841.]

man in Christ's holy religion ; intending, as I take it, when thy heart is tilled with the seed of God's word, and able to digest stronger meat, to make an uniform law to the contrary, and to command all men, women, and children to receive it with their hands, as priests do, and as Christ and his disciples did, and the laity of the primitive church. For indifferent things the king's majesty, with his clergy and the advice of his parliament, may do and undo, forbid and command, and make one law this year, and another clean contrary the next year. Therefore, whensoever the same authority shall will thee to take it in thy hands again, or if they shall will thee to receive it sitting, thou must as willingly obey their commandment as they of the primitive church did embrace Paul's commandment touching blood and strangled meats, notwithstanding it was a contrary commandment to that which all the apostles had concluded upon a little before, as is registered. In the mean time, I do not bid thee disobey or break their first commandment.

Acts xv.

But if it be an indifferent thing, thou wilt say, why may I not do as I list? Or how may they forbid me to take it with my mouth? for then they make it not indifferent. It is not evil to receive with thy mouth ; but it is better to receive it in thy hands, forasmuch as Christ's disciples did so : and in indifferent things the magistrates may command thee to do that is the better, yea, or that which is worse, as they shall see cause and considerations. Prepare thy heart, therefore, to obedience in such things ; and be as ready to receive it in thy hands as with thy mouth ; be as ready to receive it sitting as kneeling ; yea, even to-morrow, if they shall will thee so to do. And as thou dost willingly obey them in that they bid thee take it with thy mouth, so obey them concerning adoration ; for in that they command that the sacrament shall not be heaved nor lift up, they forbid thee to honour it.

The conclusion, with enumeration and prayer.

Thus I have declared you my faith and knowledge ; that is, why God ordained his supper after the eating of the lamb ; that their lamb was a figure of our sacramental bread and wine, a commemoration of the deliverance, and a sacrament of Christ's death ; that the Jews had some continual rites and sacraments, and other some temporal. I shewed you how their sacraments and ours, how their receipt and

ours, doth differ ; why God, who is immutable, disannulled their rites, and ordained new rites and new ceremonies for us ; for what causes men absent themselves from Christ's banquet, to which they should come not annually, but continually ; and that, as it is best to come fasting thereto, so it is not evil to receive after meat and drink. I have proved, that 'to bless' is not to make a cross upon the sacrament, but to render thanks to God the Father for the remission of our sins through the Seed promised ; that Christ ordaineth here no private mass, but a communion ; and that the scriptures, and the oriental church, and St Ambrose, a godly and learned father of the Latin church, disallow all private receipt ; and that, as it is not evil to receive the holy sacrament at thy mouth, so it is better to take it in thy hands, as Christ and his apostles did, and the laity of the primitive church. These matters be touched hitherto ; but unless God inwardly with his Spirit do teach you this philosophy and wisdom, and transform your hearts and judgments, leading you into all truth, my preaching is but lost labour : therefore let us call upon the name of God, with prayer and invocation, for his help and holy Spirit.

Let us pray for the universal company of Christ's church throughout all realms and dominions, wheresoever they dwell, namely for the congregation of England and Ireland, desiring the eternal God, of his fatherly mercy, to continue and strengthen both them and us in the confession and obedience of his word and truth : also, for all infidels and unbelievers, that God may turn their hearts to believe upon his Son Jesus Christ our Lord ; for St Paul unto Timothe commandeth us to pray for all men ; for the king's majesty, a prince of most excellent hope, that virtue and knowledge may dwell in his noble heart. For these

things, for the remission of our sins, and for

God's help hereafter in all our works,

words, and thoughts, I shall

desire you to say a

prayer after

me.

THE PRAYER.

O Eternal God, who art the author of all truth, and didst ordain this holy sacrament of bread and wine by thy only-begotten Son, in the room and place of the Easter lamb, which they of the old law did eat yearly for a memory of their deliverance from Egypt and from Pharaoh by thy mighty power, and in hope of the coming of Christ, whom John the Christener and Paul do call our Easter lamb; that we of the new law, receiving this new sacrament, should reserve thy loving kindness in continual remembrance, in that thou hast sent thy only Son to become woman's seed, to break the serpent's head, and to deliver us from the power of the devil and from the bondage of sin by his cross, and by the effusion of his most honourable blood: Hear our prayers and supplications, O merciful Father, and send us thy Spirit from thy holy place, to persuade all men and women to celebrate thy supper, after the example of Christ, and of his apostles and disciples; and stablish the hearts of the people against false teachers of private masses and of superstitious crossing, with the contemplation of Christ's ensample, with the use of the oriental church, and with the knowledge of thy holy scriptures; that we may be meet guests for thy table, and be partakers of all the benefits of Christ's death and passion: to whom, with thee and the Holy Spirit, be all honour, and glory, and praise, now and ever.
So be it.

THE SECOND SERMON

ON THE LORD'S SUPPER.

IN my last sermon, well-beloved in the Lord, whereas I began to declare unto you the Lord's supper, which was a part and member of the gospel, and through plenty of matter I did not end the same; now, according to my promise, I will shew you what a sacrament is, and how Christ's body and blood be present in his holy supper.

Thus much remaineth yet to be spoken of: "Take, eat," saith Christ, "this is my body." And likewise of the cup he saith, "Drink of it, every one; for this is my blood of the new testament, shed for many to the forgiveness of sins. I say unto you, I will not drink henceforth of this fruit of the vine, till that day when I shall drink it new with you in my Father's kingdom. And when they had sung praises, they went out into mount Olivet."

That I may declare this heavenly matter to God's honour, and find out such lessons and erudition as may be meet for this audience, and for your edifying and instruction, which be assembled here to serve God in prayer and hearing his word, let us ask God's help and his holy Spirit; for the which I shall desire you to say the Lord's prayer after me: "Our Father, which art in heaven," &c.

There is no matter in the holy scripture, well-beloved in the Lord, more necessary to be known and to be discussed than these words of our Saviour Jesus Christ, "This is my body," and, "This is my blood of the new testament." There is no text which hath been so abused and racked to maintain superstition and divers purposes. And whereas Christ ordaineth here a sacrament of unity, to knit us together in peace, amity, and love, *inimicus homo superseminavit zizania*, that Matt. xiii. is, the devil, who goeth about to deprave all godly things, hath sown so many tares, and such pestiferous opinions, and hurtful seeds, and damnable doctrine, in men's hearts, by his ministers, the papists, the questionists, schoolmen, and the anabaptists, that nothing now is a matter of more contention, of more debate, strife and variance, not only

between man and man, but also between countries and kingdoms; because every man is wedded stubbornly to his own judgment. And whereas they should reform their opinions, and submit their judgments to God's scriptures, as to the touchstone which trieth good from evil, they rather do rack and wrest God's word, making it a mariner's slop, or a nose of wax, and bowing it unto every purpose. Therefore I thought it good to utter my knowledge, which is but small, in this matter; not to teach such as be instructed and already ripe in knowledge, of whom I am desirous to learn myself; but, partly, for their sakes and erudition which be unlearned and of the laity, that they may know how to prepare themselves to come to God's board this holy time of Easter, and at other times; and, partly also, to testify and profess my conscience and faith in this matter.

Many do affirm and think these words of Christ, "This is my body," to be a like phrase, a like kind and a like manner of speech, as when he saith, *Ego sum vitis*, "I am the vine," "I am the door," "I am the way," "I am the bridegroom." They be no like phrases, but far divers and different; for the vine is no sacrament; neither the door, nor the way, nor the bridegroom, be no sacraments, but metaphors and borrowed speeches. The bread of which Christ said, "This is my body," and the wine which he affirmeth to be his blood, be not bare and naked metaphors, as the aforesaid phrases are, but they be sacraments of his honourable body and comfortable blood; as both the occidental and oriental and the Greek church, and all writers both new and old, do acknowledge and confess with one voice. For all christendom have always agreed in this point. Therefore the nature of a sacrament being thoroughly known, and examined and tried, it will teach you the meaning of Christ's words, and how he is present in his supper.

John xv.
John x.
John xiv.
Luke v.
Matt. ix.
Rev. xviii.

What a
sacrament
is.

St Austin
De Catechi.
rudib.

What is a sacrament? I will not devise a description of mine own head, nor shew a fantasy of mine own brain. I will follow in this matter the sentence and judgments of others, whose excellent learning and singular virtues are known to all the world. St Austin, an elder and holy father of Christ's church, and a man of a most ripe judgment and sharp searching wit in the scriptures, in his book *De Catechizandis rudibus*, defineth a sacrament thus: *Sacramentum est*

signaculum invisibilis gratiæ, A sacrament is a visible, a sensible, and an outward sign or token of an invisible grace or benefit¹. And he expresseth the meaning of this definition more plainly in a certain letter, verily in his twenty-third epistle, which he writeth to one Bonifacius II., where he witnesseth all sacraments to be figures and similitudes of the benefit and grace which they do represent and signify, saying, "If sacraments have not certain similitudes of these things whereof they are sacraments, then are they no sacraments."² And for this similitude, for the most part, they take the names of the very things. And St Cyprian hath even the very same doctrine and the same words, in a certain sermon which he made *De Chrismate*, "Of anointing."³ If therefore the bread of which Christ saith, "This is my body," be a sacrament, as cannot be denied, then it hath the name of Christ's body because of some similitudes which shall be declared straightways, and not because of any transubstantiation: that is to say, it is a sensible and an outward sign of his holy flesh; and the wine likewise is a sensible sign of his honourable blood, without any mutation, change, or alteration of the natures and substances either of bread or wine. But because this is a dark and a secret mystery, I will essay to express it more evidently, and to declare the similitudes and properties which do change the

Epist. xxiii.

St Cyprian
de Chrism.

[¹ De sacramento sane quod accipit, cum ei bene commendatum fuerit, signacula quidem divinarum esse visibilia, sed res ipsas invisibiles in eis honorari; nec sic habendam esse illam speciem benedictione sanctificatam, quemadmodum habetur in usu quolibet: dicendum etiam quid significet et sermo ille quem audivit, quid in illo condit, ejus illa res similitudinem gerit. Augustin. De Catechiz. rudibus, Opera, vi. 293. Edit. Paris. 1679—1700.]

[² Vide p. 36, n. 2.]

[³ Nihil hoc oleum commune habet cum liquoribus qui ex quorundam fructuum pinguedine exprimuntur, nec vis ejus est ex crassitudine penetrativa, quæ secundum quasdam naturales rationes emollit et temperat spissamenta humorum, quos solet intrinsecus astringere siccitas aliqua, vel corruptio conglobare. Non hæc medendis corporibus est unctio instituta: quia sanctificatis elementis jam non propria natura præbet effectum, sed virtus divina potentius operatur, sed adest veritas signo, et spiritus sacramento; ut et ipsis rerum efficientiis gratiæ dignitas pateat, et interiori homini quanta ex his detur auctoritas deiformi conversatione et cœlestibus moribus innotescat. Cypriani Opera, p. cxxiii. Edit. Paris. 1726, inter Opera Arnoldi Abbatis Bonæ Vallis.]

names of bread and wine, but not their natures and essence. Give diligent heed, and ponder well what I shall say; for this matter is very hard.

When our Saviour Christ affirmeth bread to be his body, and wine to be his blood, he ordaineth a sacrament; that is, he giveth the name of the thing to the signs of bread and wine, so that notwithstanding the matter, the nature and substance of the signs do remain and continue. Unless their substance and natures do remain, I say unto you, bread and wine can be no sacraments. For sacraments, as I told you before out of St Austin, are so called of the similitudes of those things to which they be sacraments. Take away the matter, the substance, and nature of bread and wine, and thou takest away all similitudes, which must of necessity be in the signs of bread and wine after the consecration, and in that they be sacraments. For all the elder and learned fathers of Christ's church do confess with one voice, and the scriptures do witness the same, that there must be three similitudes and properties in bread and wine; a similitude of nourishing, a similitude of unity, and a similitude of conversion; for which properties and similitudes bread and wine be named Christ's body and blood, and not for any transubstantiation or alteration of their natures.

Christ affirmeth bread to be his body, for three properties and similitudes.

A similitude of nourishing.

John vi.

St Jerome super Matt.

Beda in Lucam.

The similitude and property of *nourishing* is this: that as bread and wine do nourish our bodies, and comfort our outward man, so the body and blood of Christ be the meat and food of our souls, and do comfort our inward man. Christ expresseth this similitude, calling himself *Panem vitæ*, "The bread of eternal life," and professing his flesh to be very meat, and his blood to be very drink; that is, the food and spiritual sustenance of man's soul and mind. This, I say, is one cause why Christ affirmeth bread to be his body, and wine to be his blood; as St Hierom teacheth us, writing thus of Christ's supper upon Matthew: 'After the eating of the mystical lamb with his apostles, *assumit panem qui confortat cor hominis*, he took,' saith this holy father, 'he took bread which comforteth the heart of man.'¹ And that this is St Hierom's meaning, Beda doth delare, who upon Luke doth set out this

[¹ Postquam typicum Pascha fuerat impletum, et agni carnes cum apostolis comederet, assumit panem, qui confortat cor hominis, et ad verum Paschæ transgreditur sacramentum; ut quomodo in prefiguratione

sentence of Hierom more copiously, saying: "Because bread doth confirm or strengthen the flesh, and wine worketh blood in the flesh, therefore is the bread referred mystically unto Christ's body, and the wine is referred unto his blood."

Another cause why bread and wine is named Christ's flesh and blood, is another similitude, of *unity*; which is thus much to say: 'As the sacramental loaf of which we do eat, coming to the communion, is made of many corns of wheat by the liquor of water knoden into dough, and yet it is but one loaf or one cake; and as the holy wine is made of the juice of divers and many grapes, and yet is but one cup of wine; so all they that eat Christ's body and drink his blood through faith, though they be never so many, yet by the liquor of charity and love they are made one body and one flesh; the mystical body of the Son of God, which is his church and congregation, and not his natural body. St Paul expresseth this similitude, witnessing that the bread is a sacrament, not only of Christ's natural body, but also of the congregation and mystical body, saying, *Unus panis, unum corpus, multi sumus*, that "albeit we be many, yet notwithstanding we are one loaf, and one body." What a loaf are we? Verily, even *triticeus panis*, 'a wheaten loaf;' by the similitude and property of unity which I have declared. St Cyprian also, in his sixth letter which he writeth to one Magnus, in his first book, alloweth this similitude, writing thus: "The Lord," saith this holy father, "calleth bread, made of many grains or corns, his body, and he nameth wine, made of the juice of the clusters of divers grapes, his blood."² And St Austin, in *sermone de sacra feria Paschæ*,

A similitude of unity.

1 Cor. x.

Cypr. Lib. i.
Epist. 6.

ejus Melchisedec, summi Dei sacerdos, panem et vinum offerens fecerat, ipse quoque veritatem sui corporis et sanguinis representaret. Hieronymus, in Matth. xxvi. Opera iv. 128. Edit. Paris. 1695—1706.]

[² Quia ergo panis carnem confirmat, vinum vero sanguinem operatur in carne, hic ad corpus Christi mystice, illud refertur ad sanguinem. Beda, in Luc. xxii. 19. Opera, ii. 360. Edit. Paris. 1554.]

[³ Denique unanimitem christianam firma sibi atque inseparabili caritate connexam etiam ipsa dominica sacrificia declarant. Nam quando Dominus corpus suum panem vocat de multorum granorum adunatione congestum, populum nostrum quem portabat indicat adunatum; et quando sanguinem suum vinum appellat de botris atque acinis plurimis expressum atque in unum coactum, gregem item nostrum significat commixtione adunatæ multitudinis copulatum. Cypriani Epist. lxxvi. Opera, p. 153. Edit. Paris. 1726.]

"in a certain sermon which he made of the holy feast of passover," alloweth the same similitude or property, proving us by this property to be Christ's body, saying: "Because Christ hath suffered for us, he hath betaken unto us in this sacrament his body and blood, which he hath also made ourselves. For we are also made his body; and by his mercy we are even the same thing that we receive."¹ And afterward he saith, in the said sermon: 'Now in the name of Christ you are come, as a man would say, to the chalice of the Lord. There are ye upon the table, and there are ye in the chalice.'²

A similitude
of con-
version.

The third similitude, of *conversion*, for the which also the sacrament is affirmed to be Christ's flesh and blood, is this: that as the bread and wine are turned into the substance of our bodies by feeding and sustaining them, so by the receiving of Christ's body and blood we are turned into the nature of them, we are changed and altered, and made holy, flesh of his flesh and bones of his bones, as Paul witnesseth. And Chrysostom confirmeth the same, saying, *Nos secum in unam massam reducit; neque id fide solum, sed reipsa corpus suum efficit*:³ "We," saith this holy and learned father, "we are made one matter with Christ; not by faith alone and charity," (as he writeth also to the people of Antioch;) "but we are made even his very body, *reipsa*, that is, effectually, truly, and really." And St Ambrose doth write, that we are changed and turned into Christ⁴.

Eph. v.

Chrys. Ho.
83. super
Matt.

Homil. 63.
ad popul.
Antioch.

Amb. lib. iv.
sacra. ca. 4.

[¹ Quia passus est pro nobis, commendavit nobis in isto sacramento corpus et sanguinem suum; quod etiam fecit et nos ipsos. Nam et nos corpus ipsius facti sumus, et per misericordiam ipsius quod accipimus nos sumus. August. De sacra feria Paschæ, Sermon. cccxix. Opera v. 976. Edit. Paris. 1679—1700.]

[² Jam in nomine Christi tamquam ad calicem Domini venistis: et ibi vos estis in mensa, ibi vos estis in calice. August. ibid.]

[³ Οὐδὲ γὰρ ἤρκεσεν αὐτῷ τὸ γενέσθαι ἀνθρώπων, οὐδὲ τὸ ῥαπισθῆναι καὶ σφαγῆναι, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἀναφέρει ἐαυτὸν ἡμῶν, καὶ οὐ τῇ πίστει μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ αὐτῷ τῷ πράγματι σῶμα ἡμῶν αὐτοῦ κατασκευάζει. Chrysostom. Opera, vii. 788. Edit. Paris. 1718—38.]

[⁴ "Ego sum," inquit "panis vivus qui de cælo descendi." Sed caro non descendit e cælo, hoc est, carnem in terris adsumpsit ex Virgine. Quomodo ergo descendit panis e cælo, et panis vivus? Quia idem Dominus noster Jesus Christus consors est et divinitatis et corporis: et tu qui accipis carnem, divinæ ejus substantiæ in illo participaris]

And Emissenus also doth profess a real mutation of us into Christ^s. And yet we are not transubstantiate and converted, we are not transformed into him, but our nature and substance remaineth still, as it did before our receipt of the sacrament: and so doth the nature and substance of the sacraments. For if the nature of bread and wine be altered, our nature must be altered in like manner, forasmuch as the fathers witness, that we do eat Christ's flesh *reipsa*, that is, really and effectually; so that our flesh is made holy flesh of his flesh, and we must be, as Paul saith, "bones of his bones." How are we flesh of his flesh? Not by any mutation or change of our substance, essence, or nature, which remaineth still; but in that we do eat Christ's flesh and drink his blood by faith and belief, by which only Christ is eaten and drunken, and no ways else. To eat Christ's flesh and to drink his blood is to believe that the Son of God took on him our humanity; to believe that his body was nailed upon the cross, and that his blood was let forth and shed for the remission of our sins, for our transgressions and offences, and to repose us into his Father's favour again, who was displeased with us. To teach us this, he calleth himself the bread of God, that came from heaven to give life unto the world: which chapter is a manifest probation of this matter, that his flesh is never eaten, neither in the sacrament nor without the sacrament, but only by belief. St Augustine, whose excellent learning and virtue is well known, doth so take all that is spoken there; for he saith,

Emissenus.

Eph. v.

John vi.

St Austin in
cap. 6. Joan.

alimento. Ambrosii, De Sacram. Lib. vi. c. 1. Opera, ii. 381. Edit. Paris. 1686—90.]

[^s Ut tibi novum et impossibile videri non debeat, quod in Christi substantiam terrena et mortalia convertuntur, teipsum, qui jam in Christo es regeneratus, interroga. Dudum alienus a vita, peregrinus a misericordia, a salutis via intrinsecus mortuus exulabas: subito initiatus Christi legibus, et salutaribus mysteriis innovatus, in corpus ecclesiæ non videndo sed credendo transilivisti, et de filio perditionis adoptivus Dei filius fieri occulta puritate meruisti: in mensura visibili permanens, major factus es teipso invisibiliter: sine quantitatis augmento, cum ipse atque idem esses, multo alter fidei processibus extitisti: in exteriori nihil additum est, et totum in interiori mutatum est: ac sic homo Christi filius effectus, et Christus in hominis mente formatus est. Decret. Gratian. De Consecrat. Dist. 2. p. 2097. Edit. Paris. 1612.]

writing upon the same chapter¹, *Ut quid paras dentes et ventrem?* "Why dost thou make ready thy teeth and belly?" *Vis manducare Christum?* "Wilt thou eat Christ's flesh, and drink his blood?" And he answereth, *Crede et manducasti*, that is to say, "Believe; and I say unto thee, thou hast eaten his flesh and drunk his blood."

An objection answered.

But here the papists reply, that Christ's flesh is eaten in the sacrament, and without it: and that without the sacrament it is eaten only by faith; but in the sacrament it is eaten without faith, of those that eat it unworthily, as Judas did. I answer: Christ's flesh, as it is the bread of life, so always it doth give life to the spirit, which evil men have not. Moreover, Christ's flesh is meat, according to [his] own saying: *Caro mea vere est cibus*, "My flesh is very meat, and my blood is very drink." What meat and drink is it? Verily, the meat and drink of the soul, not of the body; the food and sustenance, not of the flesh, but of the spirit; as the figures and sacraments of bread and wine are bodily sustenance. For the spirit is not fed or nourished with corporal food; for it is written, *Quod natum est ex carne caro est*, "That which is born of flesh is flesh;" that is to say, carnal and fleshly. And Christ reproveth such which understood that he would give his flesh to be eaten really, and corporally, and substantially; saying, "The flesh profiteth nothing: it is the spirit which quickeneth. But there are some of you that believe not." As if he had said, 'I took not my body of the holy virgin to give it to be eaten really and naturally for the remission of sin, or to ordain any carnal eating; but I took my body, and became man, to die for sin, and that ways to profit and sanctify you. *Mortua prodest caro, non comesa*, The death of my flesh profiteth and availeth you, and not the eating thereof; which profit you must receive by faith only, and through belief in my passion, by the operation of the Spirit. My flesh is the bread of life, in that it shall be beaten, torn, and slain

John vi.

Christ's flesh is the meat of the soul.

Man's soul is not fed with corporal food. John iii.

John vi.

[¹ *Quid faciemus, inquit? quid observando hoc præceptum implere poterimus? Respondit Jesus, et dixit eis, Hoc est opus Dei, ut credatis in eum quem misit ille. Hoc est ergo manducare cibum non qui perit, sed qui permanet in vitam æternam. Ut quid paras dentes et ventrem? Crede, et manducasti. August. in Joan. Evang. Opera, iii. pars ii. 489. Edit. Paris. 1679—1700.*]

for you; not in that it shall be eaten.' For that the fruit, the benefit, and whole commodity of his coming should be distributed into the world by his death only, he teacheth us himself by a similitude, saying, *Nisi granum frumenti, de-* John xii.
jectum in terram, mortuum fuerit, ipsum solum manet, "Unless 1 Cor. xv.
the corn which is sown in the ground do first die, it doth not increase; if it die, it bringeth forth much fruit." So his body doth profit us, not in that we eat it really, but in that it was beaten, cruelly scourged, and slain for us, in that it was crucified, it is the bread of life, the bread of salvation, redemption, and justification. With these sentences Christ plucketh us from carnal eating; and teacheth us that his body is eaten by faith only in this life.

But I hear one say, which delighteth in his own wit, and thinketh that he can see further in a millstone beyond others, 'If we receive Christ's body by faith only, what needeth the sacrament? what booteth it to come to the Lord's table?'—saying, 'We may receive his body without the sacrament, wheresoever we be, if we believe upon him; whether we be in the field, or in the town, or in our beds.' Truly, if thou be honestly and godly affected, and dost revoke Christ's passion to thy memory, hoping for remission and pardon of thy offence through the shedding of his blood and through the death of his body, thou dost eat his body and drink his blood. But if thou regard not his sacrament, if thou regard not the promises which he hath annexed to his table, if thou pass not on his commandment, which is, "Take ye, eat and drink ye of this every one;" thou dost not believe, but art carnally minded and the servant of sin. Where faith is, there is also hope, modesty, humility, soberness, and obedience to God's precepts; for the nature of faith is to justify. Now carnal and disobedient men do not eat Christ's body; forasmuch as it is eaten only in spirit and in faith, that is, of spiritual and faithful men and women, always unto health and redemption, and never unto hurt or destruction. Thou mayest say likewise, 'I will not come to the church to pray, for God heareth me every where.' Thou mayest say likewise, 'I will not be absolved of the minister, for God is not bound to his sacraments, and he only blotteth out sin without the ceremony of ministration; as he did the

That both
the spiritual
and sacra-
mental
receipt are
necessary.

Luke xxiii. sins of the thief, of Mary Magdalene, and of others.' True
 Luke vii. it is, God absolveth before thou come to the priest, if thou
 have earnest remorse and an unfeigned purpose to amend.
 Matt. viii. For he cleansed the man from leprosy of whom Matthew
 Luke v. speaketh, he raised Lazarus from the death of the body,
 Acts ix. and Paul from the death of the soul, before they were with
 any minister. He received also Abraham into his favour
 Gen. xvii. before he was circumcised. Notwithstanding, we have com-
 mandment to repair to the minister for absolution; for to
 them belongeth to loose and to bind, to bless and to curse,
 as appeareth of the foresaid ensamples. For Paul, after that
 he was lightened from above, was directed unto Ananias to
 receive imposition of hands. The leper also was commanded
 to shew himself to the priest for a witness to the congre-
 gation. And Lazarus after his uprising was delivered to
 Christ's disciples, which were priests, to be loosed and
 Rom. iv. stripped of his grave-bonds. And the patriarch Abraham,
 Gen. xvii. after that he was justified and accepted into God's favour,
 he received the sacrament of circumcision as a seal of the
 righteousness which is by faith. So, albeit Christ's body be
 received in faith many times without the sacrament, yet thou
 must come unto his board because of his commandment,
 because of his promises, and also to receive spiritual comfort
 and increase of faith. Otherwise thou dost neither eat his
 body nor drink his blood, neither shalt thou be partaker of
 the fruits of his passion, which appertain to those only
 which, by receiving the memorial of his death, do shew
 themselves not to be unkind or forgetful, but obedient and
 thankful. It is not enough to receive it spiritually, we must
 receive it also sacramentally; for both receipts be required
 and commanded, and Christ himself with his apostles used
 both for our erudition, ensample, and instruction.

Here a question may be demanded, no less necessary to be
 known than hard to dissolve and answer: If Christ's [flesh]
 be eat only by faith, how is that true which I rehearsed out
 of Chrysostom, that we are transformed into Christ and
 made his body, *non solum per fidem*, 'not only by faith,' *sed*
reipsa, 'but also really, truly, and effectually?' You shall
 understand, well-beloved in the Lord, that when we receive
 Christ in faith, that this receipt joineth and coupleth us
 effectually and really unto Christ. Not only our hearts and

By worthy
 receipt we
 be made
 Christ's
 body really.

minds, but also our bodies and flesh be purified, be washed, and cleansed by this receipt, so that Christ our head and Lord dwelleth and abideth in us hereby, and nourisheth and feedeth us continually with faith in his blood and with the comfort of his holy Spirit; making us lively, holy, and very members of his mystical body. This is the effect and meaning of Chrysostom's words, in which he affirmeth that we are made the body of Christ really, truly, and effectually.

Hitherto I have declared unto you two matters: what it is to eat Christ's body, and that three similitudes, or properties, be necessarily required in this sacrament; as I have proved, as well by evident texts of the gospel, as with the authority of many of the elder and best learned fathers of Christ's church, whose doctrine and interpretations I exhort all men to follow. Of these similitudes or properties we may gather, that the matter and natures of bread and wine do remain, and that Christ's words, "This is my body," be as much to say as, 'This is a sacrament of my body.' For these similitudes and properties must be in the bread and wine, in that they be sacraments, and after the consecration, else they are no sacraments. For take away the substance, matter, and nature of them, and what similitude or property remaineth, either of nutrition, or of unity, or of conversion? Ergo, the essence, nature, matter, and substance of bread and wine, is not altered, not transformed, not transubstantiate, but do remain and continue as before; for these properties and similitudes be in the very substance and inward nature of bread and wine.

The schoolmen and papists, to defend and maintain their transubstantiation, which is the bishop of Rome's kingdom, and the fortress and castle of all superstition and idolatry, they make the accidents of bread and wine the sensible and outward sign, and the visible, earthly, and terrenal nature of this sacrament. When thou meetest with such a schoolmaster that teacheth this doctrine, and that the bread is not bread still, answer him thus: "Sir, there must be three An objection. similitudes and properties in the sacrament; a similitude of nourishing, a similitude of unity, another of conversion. But these three properties and similitudes cannot be in the outward shew of accidents; that is, in the colour, in the fashion, in the breadth and roundness, in the quantity of The answer.

bread and wine; for these things, nor no other accidents, do not nourish and feed us, be not converted into us, neither have they any property or similitude of any unity. But the bread and wine have all these similitudes: they do nourish, they be turned into our nature, and they do contain a similitude of unity. Therefore bread and wine is the outward and sensible sign, and the terrenal nature of this sacrament. And the bread is bread still, and the wine is wine still, as well after the consecration as afore; or else they be no sacraments. And yet, notwithstanding, they be named the body and blood of Christ; not because of any mutation, change, or alteration of their natures and substances, but because of the three similitudes and properties aforesaid." Answer papistical teachers on this wise, and with this reason; and they shall not be able to gainsay thee.

Now let us enter somewhat further into the text, and into other matters. Christ, speaking of the cup, saith, *Hic est sanguis novi testamenti*, "This is my blood of the new testament," or of the new covenant. What mean these words, 'the new testament,' and what is a new testament? Verily, a testament is as much to say as a legacy, or behest of goods. So St Austin¹ defineth it: *Testamentum est quo deferitur bonorum hæreditas*; "A testament," saith St Austin, "is a behest and legacy of goods." And there is an old testament, and a new testament, as Christ teacheth us here. The old testament is a bequest and legacy of temporal goods and earthly commodities unto the synagogue of the Jews. The new testament is a bequest of eternal and heavenly inheritance through Christ unto all men, both Jews and Gentiles. Or otherwise, the old testament is the axe set to the root of the trees, the law which causeth anger; that is, the preaching of the law against wicked men, for *lex justo non*

What a
testament
is.

St Austin.

The old
testament,
what it is.

What the
new testa-
ment is.

Matt. iii.
Luke iii.
Rom. iv.

[There are several definitions of a testament in the works of St Augustine; the following is one which Hutchinson seems to have had in his mind, although it is not in the precise words which he has given. We may infer from his subsequent definition of the old testament that this passage was certainly known to him. "Judæi....terrena quærebant a Domino: terra enim promissionis, victoria ab inimicis, fecunditas pariendi, multiplicatio filiorum, abundantia fructuum,....omnia hæc fecerunt illis vetus testamentum. Quid est vetus testamentum? Quasi hæreditas pertinens ad hominem veterem." Augustin. in Johan. Evang. Opera, ii. 519. Edit. Paris. 1679—1700.]

est posita, "the law," saith Paul, "was not ordained for ¹ Tim. i. good men, but for evil:" and therefore he defineth it in another place to be "ministration of death and damnation." ² Cor. iii. But the new testament is a sermon of God's mercy and clemency, of salvation, of redemption, and righteousness, through the effusion of Christ's blood, who calleth all men and women from superstition to true holiness, from shadows to light, from the letter to the spirit, and from the works to the flesh to labour and work in his vineyard; that is, to honour and glorify God by well doing, in hope of plenteous reward. Wherefore St Paul unto the Corinthians nameth it "the ministration of the Spirit and of righteousness." And he compareth the first testament to Agar, to Abraham's ^{Gal. iv.} bondwoman, and the second he likeneth to Sara, his lawful wife and a free woman; signifying hereby, that the one doth gender unto bondage, and the other to eternal life.

And both testaments do remain yet, and be effectual at this day. The old testament is not disannulled in evil men, but in good men. For such as live in sin and ignorance of God, and do measure and judge holiness by outward ceremonies, and such as do gape greedily after earthly things, such as be Julianites, and without conscience, and do think mortal *corpo*, mortal *anima*; all such belong to the old testament, and be yet under the stroke of the axe, under the law which causeth anger. And from the beginning of the world good men, as Adam, Enoch, Sem, Noe, Abraham, and David, which in all their ceremonies had an eye to Messias, and believed in Christ to come, were of the new testament and under grace. Therefore, if thou wilt come to Christ's table, beware that thou be not of the old testament, that is, defiled with sin and iniquity, and without repentance, and an unjust getter and retainer of worldly commodities. For Christ calleth his table "the blood of the new testament." The nature of this table and of Christ's blood is such, that if thou presume to come unto it unworthily, with a belly corrupt with naughty humours, that is, with sin and iniquity, it will lead thee unto thy destruction, as it did Judas; not of the nature of it, but through thy great default, who dost not try thyself before thou comest. Yea, if we be defiled with sin, we be no partakers of these dainties, we do not drink the blood of life. Of these few words which I have spoken in

Both testaments be yet effectual.

this matter, you may gather both what the testaments be, and also how they do differ.

But percase you are desirous to learn more plainly what is the meaning of these words, "This is my blood of the new testament." Verily, these words be as much to say as, 'This is a sacrament of my blood, which was let forth and shed for the remission of sins. This is another blood, and a diverse, from the blood of the old law. Their blood was their sacraments, in which the old Christians which did pertain to the new law did drink Christ through faith. The rock was their blood and their paschal lamb, their sacrifices of goats, oxen, and sheep; to which evil men came as well as good; but the evil did not drink Christ's blood, but only the figure thereof, because it is of the new law, and they were of the old law. But the old Christians, that is, they which in drinking of the rock, and in eating their lamb, and other sacrifices, had an eye and a faith in Christ to come, did eat his body and drink his blood as truly, as really, and as effectually as we do. For they were of the new testament as well as we; and therefore they drank the very spiritual blood of the new testament, in that they believed upon the Seed promised. Hereunto Paul beareth witness, saying: "Our fathers did all eat of one spiritual meat, and did all drink of one spiritual drink. For they drank of that spiritual rock that followed them, which rock was Christ." And the Psalmographe saith: *Panem de celo dedit eis*, &c. "That God gave them bread from heaven, and the bread of angels;" which bread is Christ, as he teacheth us himself, saying, *Amen, amen, dico vobis, non Moses dedit*, &c. "Verily, verily, I say unto you, Moses did not give you bread from heaven, but my Father," &c. That he is the bread which his Father gave them, he declareth, saying, "I am that living bread which came down from heaven." Whereof it is evident, that the old Christians, of which Paul speaketh in the text afore rehearsed, did from the foundation of the world eat Christ's flesh and drink his blood, as really and effectually as we do now.

But the ungodly which were before his birth did neither eat his flesh nor drink his blood; as Christ himself teacheth us, saying, *Patres vestri manducaverunt manna, et mortui sunt*, "Your fathers," saith Christ, "did eat manna,

That the old
Christians
did eat
Christ's
flesh as
really as
we do.

1 Cor. x.

Psal. lxxviii.

Psal. cv.

John vi.

John vi.

and be dead." Note, that he saith not our fathers, but your fathers; as if he had said, 'Your fathers, which would not believe the prophets, but were persecutors of them and blood-suckers, as you be, they did eat manna, that is, the sensible sacrament, *et mortui sunt*; and yet they were not partakers of the fruits of my death, but died eternally. But the old fathers which before my incarnation believed in me to come, did not only eat the sensible sign and outward sacrament of manna, but also tasted the dainties of my honourable body and blood, which are the bread of life and redemption; and they died not, but do live thereby.' For of such Paul saith, that they drank of the spiritual ^{1 Cor. x.} rock. But because you shall not think that I do wrest the scriptures, to prove that the old Christians did eat Christ's flesh and drink his blood in their sacraments, hear what the godly and learned bishop St Austin saith ^{St Austin in Joan. [Opera, III. 498. Edit. Paris. 1679 -1700.] 1 Cor. x.} to this matter. He, upon the sixth chapter of St John's gospel, speaking of the old fathers' eating and ours, and by occasion expounding there the text of Paul, affirmeth evidently that which I have taught, saying: *Omnes eandem escam spiritalem manducaverunt: spiritalem utique eandem: nam corporalem alteram, quia illi manna, nos aliud; spiritalem vero, quam nos; sed patres nostri, non patres illorum: quibus nos similes sumus, non quibus illi similes fuerunt*; which words, in effect, be thus much to say, "They all," saith this learned and elder father, speaking of the old Christians, "did eat one spiritual meat. They did eat one spiritual meat, not one corporal meat; for manna was their corporal meat, that is, their outward and terrenal sacrament; but another thing, that is, bread and wine, is our corporal meat and our sacrament. They did eat the same spiritual meat, that is, Christ's body, which we do eat. But our fathers, as Paul saith, that is, such godly men as we are like unto, did eat this spiritual meat to their health and salvation; but your fathers, which were oppressors of the prophets, whose ways you do follow, did not eat Christ's body, but only the corporal meat of manna, the figure and sacrament thereof, to their death and condemnation: and therefore of them Christ saith, *Mortui sunt*, 'that they died,' meaning the second death." This is St Austin's ^{St August. li. de util. vera: puz.} doctrine of the sacrament, not only upon the foresaid

chapter, but also in his book which he writeth, *De utilitate cœræ poenitentiae agendæ*, “¹How profitable a thing it is to do worthy penance;” and in his nineteenth book against Faustus².

Lib. xix.
contra
Faustum.
cap. 16.

An ob-
jection.

The answer.

St Austin
in Psal. 73.

Here you will say, St Austin, in his preface upon psalm LXXIII., doth extol our sacraments above the sacraments of the old law for divers causes. If they did receive Christ's body and blood in their sacraments, how is this true? Wherein are ours better? I answer: Our sacraments are better than theirs, not of themselves, not of their own nature, of their own dignity and worthiness, but because of the fulness of time, because the face of Jesus Christ is now more clearly discovered and known in the new testament. Their sacraments, as St Austin³ saith

[¹ Sic enim quibusdam illis infidelibus dicit Dominus: “Patres vestri manducaverunt manna in eremo et mortui sunt.” Quid est enim, “Patres vestri,” nisi quos infidelitate imitami, quorum vias non credendo et Deo resistendo sectamini? Secundum quem intellectum quibusdam dicit, “Vos a patre diabolo estis.” Neque enim diabolus aliquem hominem vel potentia creavit, vel generando procreavit: et tamen dicitur pater impiorum, non propter generationem, sed propter imitationem. Sicut e contra de bonis dicitur, “Ergo semen Abrahamæ estis,” cum loquatur gentibus, quæ stirpem carnis ex Abrahamæ genere non ducebant. Filii enim erant, non nascendo sed imitando. . . . Sicut ergo hoc loco dicit, “Patres vestri manducaverunt manna in eremo et mortui sunt;” non enim intellexerunt quod manducaverunt; itaque non intelligentes, cibum non nisi corporalem acceperunt: sic et apostolus dicit, “Patres nostros,” non patres infidelium, non patres impiorum, manducantes et morientes, sed patres nostros, patres fidelium, spirituales cibum manducasse, et ideo eundem. Augustin. *De Util. agend. penit. Opera*, v. 1365. Edit. Paris. 1679—1700.]

[² Adversus calumniosam imperitiam Fausti demonstrare suffecerit, quanto errore delirent, qui putant, signis sacramentisque mutatis, etiam res ipsas esse diversas, quas ritus propheticus prænuñtiavit promissas, et quas ritus evangelicus annuñtiavit impletas; aut qui censent, cum res eadem sint, non eas aliis sacramentis annuñtiari debuisse completas, quam iis quibus adhuc complendæ prænuñtiabantur. Augustin. *contra Faust. Lib. xix. c. xvi. Opera*, viii. 321. Edit. Paris. 1679—1700.]

[³ Si enim discernimus duo testamenta, vetus et novum, non sunt eadem sacramenta, nec eadem promissa. . . . Sacramenta non eadem, quia alia sunt sacramenta dantia salutem, alia promittentia Salvatorem. Sacramenta novi testamenti dant salutem, sacramenta veteris testamenti promiserunt Salvatorem. Augustin. in *Psal. LXXIII. Opera*, iv. 769. Edit. Paris. 1679—1700.]

in the aforesaid place, *promittebant salvatorem*, "did promise Christ," that is, did shadow, figure, and preach him to come; ours *dant salutem*, "do give health by Christ," that is, do shew him to our eyes, as it were upon a scaffold, already come. They were under the yoke of the law, under the letter, under many riddles, under figures and shadows, as children; but we are under grace, under the Spirit, under the verity, under fewer rites, and under a more excellent testament, as co-heirs with Christ. God spake to them by patriarchs and holy prophets, and by other means, as it pleased him. But now is the time which the patriarchs desired to see, the acceptable and golden time, and the days of salvation, in which God speaketh both to the Jews and to the Gentiles by Jesus Christ, Heb. i. his own Word and Wisdom, as Paul declareth. For these causes St Austin in the aforesaid place, and in other places, preferreth our sacraments and rites of the new testament to the old law; not for their own dignity, for their own excellency and worthiness, nor through any transubstantiation. Read his preface aforesaid, and there thou shalt find these causes which I have rehearsed, and no other. Notwithstanding the old Christians did drink Christ's blood, and eat his flesh, yet they, I say, had another blood, that is, a divers sacrament from us. They had a paschal lamb, a rock, the blood of oxen and of sheep, in their sacrifices: we have wine instead of them. For seeing the testaments be changed, and the priesthood and law is altered, therefore the sacraments also be newed and changed. "This," saith Christ of wine, "this is my blood of the new testament:" that is, 'a new sacrament of my blood, a certificate of my last will and testament. This is a testimony, and as it were the broad seal and patent of my benevolence, of my clemency and favour towards you.'

And this similitude declareth very aptly and fitly how his body and blood are present in his holy supper. The body and blood of Jesus Christ be in his holy supper, as thy house, with thy garden and other commodities, is in thy lease, which thou hast by the college seal of Eton or of Windsor; or as thy living is in thy patent, which thou hast confirmed and ratified with the broad seal of England. The words of Christ's supper be, as it were, a lease or

How
Christ's
body is
present.

patent. The sacrament is, as it were, his broad seal and his stamp, to certify the [thy] weak faith, that God the Father doth love and favour thee, and dwell in thee by the grace of his holy Spirit, for his sake. Thy house and garden be not locally, not really, nor corporally, in thy lease; but effectually and sufficiently for thy profit and commodity. So Christ's body and blood be in bread and wine. This is no new similitude of mine own making, for I told you that I would speak nothing of mine own head: it is the similitude of Gregory Nazianzen, an excellent clerk and a holy father of the Greek church. He, twelve hundred years ago, writing against the opinion which is called now the Donatists' opinion, used this similitude, and affirmeth all sacraments to be seals¹. St Austin, also, in his book which he writeth upon the salutation of Paul's Epistle to the Romans, calleth them *sacrosancta signacula*², that is, 'holy seals.'

Grego.
Nazianzen.

St August.
in saluta.
ad Rom.

But thou wilt say, 'These be high matters and above

[¹ Μὴ ζήτει ἀξιοπιστίαν τοῦ κηρύσσοντος, μηδὲ τοῦ βαπτίζοντος. "Ἄλλος ὁ τούτων κριτὴς, καὶ τῶν ἀφανεστέρων δοκιμαστής· ἐπειδὴ ἄνθρωπος μὲν εἰς πρόσωπον, Θεὸς δὲ εἰς καρδίαν. Σοὶ δὲ πᾶς ἀξιόπιστος εἰς τὴν καθαρσίαν· μόνον ἔστω τίς τῶν ἐγκρίτων καὶ μὴ τῶν προδῆλως κατεγνωσμένων, μηδὲ τῆς ἐκκλησίας ἀλλότριος. Μὴ κρίνε τοὺς κριτὰς, ὁ χρῆζων τῆς ἰατρείας· μηδὲ φιλοκρίνει μοι τὰς ἀξίας τῶν σὲ καθαυρόντων, μηδὲ διακρίνου πρὸς τοὺς γεννήτορας. "Ἄλλος μὲν ἄλλον κρείττων, ἢ ταπεινότερος· σοὺ δὲ πᾶς ὑψηλότερος. Σκόπει δὲ οὕτως· ἔστω χρυσοῦς, ἔστω σίδηρος, δακτύλιοι δὲ ἀμφοτέροι, καὶ τὴν αὐτὴν ἐγκεχαράχθωσαν εἰκόνα βασιλικὴν, εἴτα κηρὸν ἐντυπωύτωσαν· τί διοίσει ἡ σφραγὶς αὐτῇ τῆς σφραγίδος ἐκείνης; οὐδέν. Ἐπίγνωθι τὴν ὕλην ἐν τῷ κερῷ, καὶν ἢς σοφώτατος, εἰπέ, τί μὲν τοῦ σιδήρου, τί δὲ τοῦ χρυσοῦ τὸ ἐκσφράγισμα, καὶ πῶς ἐν ἑστί; τῆς γὰρ ὕλης τὸ διάφορον, οὐ τοῦ χαρακτήρος. Οὕτως ἔστω σοι πᾶς βαπτιστής. Καὶν τῇ πολιτείᾳ προέχῃ, ἀλλ' ἢ γε τοῦ βαπτίσματος δύναμις ἴση· καὶ τελειοποιός σοι πᾶς ὁμοίως, ὁ τῇ αὐτῇ πίστει μεμορφωμένος. Greg. Naz. Oratio xl. Opera, ii. 711. Edit. Paris. 1778.]

[² Cornelius Centurio voluntatem Dei utique apostolo Petro docente cognovit, et ipsum Spiritum sanctum, manifestissimis coadtestantibus signis, antequam baptizaretur, accepit: quamquam non ideo sacramenta illa contemserit, sed multo certius baptizatus sit; ut etiam ipsa sacrosancta signacula, quorum res in eo præcesserat, ad perficiendam scientiam veritatis percipere nullo modo moraretur. Augustin. in salut. ad Rom. Opera, iv. 936. Edit. Paris. 1679—1700.]

my capacity. Tell me how I shall prepare myself to receive this sacrament.' Many, coming to the Lord's table, do misbehave themselves, and so do the lookers on, in that they worship the sacrament with kneeling and bowing their bodies, and knocking their breasts, and with elevation of their hands. If it were to be elevated, and shewed unto the standers by, as it hath been used, Christ would have elevated it above his head. He delivered it into the hands of his disciples, bidding them to eat it, and not to hold up their hands; to receive it, and not to worship it; and he delivered it to them sitting, and not kneeling. If either the bread or the wine were to be heaved up, or to be reserved and hanged up in a pix, as it hath been abused; if it were to be honoured of the receivers, or to be kneeled unto of the lookers on; undoubtedly Christ would have left us some commandment so to do, or else have taught us by his ensample; or, at the least, he would have left some promise of reward annexed to this outward reverence and homage, or some threatening and punishment for such as will not worship it. Aye, verily; for there is nothing laudable, nothing righteous, nothing honest or acceptable in God's sight, nothing to be done, for the which he hath not left in his scriptures either some commandment, or some promise of reward, or some example. By his promises, by his threatenings, by his precepts, and through the examples of godly men and women, we know good from evil; we know what is to be done, and what is to be left undone; what is to be praised, and what is to be dispraised; what delighteth and pleaseth, and what discontenteth and displeaseth, the divine majesty. God's book is no imperfect work, but a perfect book, containing all things to be done, the whole duty of a christian man, and sufficient doctrine to instruct a God's-man in all good works, and to make him perfect; as Paul witnesseth, writing to Timothe. And he must needs
Christ is not to be honoured in form of bread and wine.
2 Tim. iii. accuse God either of ignorancy, or of folly, or of negligence, which saith, that he hath left any thing untouched and undeclared which concerneth a christian man's office, and is needful and necessary unto salvation. All such things be expressed in God's book. For in the writing of the prophets he requireth the observation of his law only concerning religion; and he threateneth great plagues and

grievous punishments to those that do add any thing to his word, that is, to those which teach any other doctrine, or any work to be necessary unto salvation, which is not commended in his word. But neither Christ, nor any of the prophets, nor his disciples, do give us any example to honour the sacrament; for they kneeled not, neither held up their hands, but sat at the table, as the text witnesseth. Neither doth God promise any benefit, either spiritual or temporal, to such as honour it; nor he doth not give us any precept so to do, neither in the old nor new testament. Therefore I say unto you, that it is sin to worship the sacrament, to hold up thy hands, or to bow thy body and kneel to it. For to worship God otherwise than he hath taught us in his holy book, which is the bible, is mere idolatry. Be not deceived, good people, nor bewitched with superstition and false holiness: for the apostle St Paul

Rom. xiv. saith, *Quicquid non est ex fide, peccatum est*, "Whatsoever is not of faith (which cometh, as Paul saith also, by hearing God's word) is sin." If thou wilt honour the sacrament, I ask thee, whether thou do it with faith or without faith. If thou do it through faith, shew me some text, some testimony, some authority of God's word, or some example in God's

Rom. x. book; for, *fides ex auditu*, "Faith," saith Paul, "cometh by hearing God's word." If thou worship it without God's word, without faith which cometh only by God's word, hear

Heb. xi. what Paul saith to thee: "It is impossible to please God without faith." For to worship God otherwise than he hath taught us, is heresy, is idolatry, is disworship and dishonour

Socrates. of the divine majesty. Socrates, a heathen and no christian man, and yet a learned and a great famous clerk, he in

[Xenophon, his life time held this assertion, that every God is to be
Memorab. Lib. iv. c. 3.] honoured and worshipped after such manner, and with such ceremonies and rites, as he himself teacheth and commandeth. He did attribute more wisdom and more authority to false gods, than we do to the God of heaven and earth, who is the fountain of all wisdom, power, and authority. It is to be feared that he, at the last day, shall arise to the condemnation of many which profess Christ.

An objection.
St August.
in Psal. 98.

But here some reply, that St Austin, writing upon these words, *Adorate scabellum pedum ejus*, "Worship the footstool of my [his] feet," that he maketh Christ's flesh, which

is earth, the footstool of God's feet, and that he affirmeth and proveth of this text, that Christ's flesh is to be honoured.

For his words be, *Nemo illam carnem manducat, nisi prius adoraverit: et non solum non peccatur adorando, verum peccatur non adorando*; that is to say, "No man may eat that flesh before he first do honour it: and it is not only [not] sin to honour it, but it is sin not to honour it."

[Opera, iv.
1065. Edit.
Paris. 1679
—1700.]

I do not deny that Christ's flesh is to be honoured and worshipped. God forbid: for it is promoted to the fellowship of the Deity, and joined in unity of person to the divine nature. But I deny that the sacrament is to be worshipped; the bread and wine are not to be honoured; for they are not his flesh really and corporally, but a certificate, a seal, a patent, or lease thereof, as I have proved.

The answer.

How is Christ's flesh to be honoured? Verily, Christ's flesh is to be honoured in heaven, not in the form of bread and wine; in glory, and at the right hand of God the Father, not in the sacrament. It is honoured by coming to his supper, and by obeying his precept, "Take, eat and drink of this all;" by receiving of the sacrament, not with elevation of hands to bread and wine, or with knocking, or with kneeling before bread and wine. His blood and body are honoured, even as they are drunk and eaten: that is, by faith in them, and by giving of thanks to him for his dishonour and death, and by confessing him to be without a father very natural man of his mother, after the fulness of time, for our redemption; and very God, begotten by his Father without a mother before all time. So the wise men, which came from the east parts by the leading of a star, worshipped him at his birth; and are therefore commended, and preserved from king Herod's cruelty. "They kneeled down," saith the text, "and worshipped him, and opened their treasures, and offered gifts, gold, frankincense, and myrrh." By gold, they confessed him to be a king; by frankincense, they acknowledge him to be God, for all nations do offer that only to such which they take to be gods; and by myrrh, with which such as die be anointed, they confessed him to be a mortal and natural man. So do thou kneel to Christ, and worship his body and blood; not in the east parts, but in the heavenly Jerusalem, and at the throne of God's majesty; not in the sacrament, but

How
Christ's
flesh is to be
honoured.

Psal. lxxii.
Matt. ii.